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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

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ANTIQUITY,

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

I.—*On a probable Allusion to the Christians in a Passage of the Sixth Satire of Juvenal. By* The Earl Stanhope, *D.C.L., F.R.S., President.*

Read March 9, 1871.

The lines in the sixth Satire of Juvenal to which I desire to call your attention begin at verse 541. The poet is inveighing against the superstitions which he ascribes to the Roman ladies. First there comes a priest of Osiris :—

> Cum dedit ille locum, cophino, fœnoque relicto,
> Arcanam Judæa tremens mendicat in aurem,
> Interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos
> Arboris, ac summi fida internuncia cœli.

The "cophinus fœnumque" are also commemorated in an earlier Satire (the third, verse 13), where Juvenal describes the Jews as herding before the Porta Capena and the path to Egeria's Fountain :—

> Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
> Judæis, quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex.

It is from this "cophinus" that the French word *coffre* as well as our own word *coffin* are derived. So far as I know, it is mentioned only by one other Latin author, namely, Columella, in the eleventh of his books on Husbandry, chapter the third, where it signifies a basket for the conveyance of manure. But it is the same word as the Greek κόφινος, which frequently occurs in the New

Testament. See Matthew xiv. 20, xvi. 9; Mark vi. 43, viii. 19; Luke ix. 17; John vi. 13. All these passages refer to the miracle of the Loaves and Fishes; and the word no doubt denotes a common provision-basket, as in use among the Jews. Thence it is easy to see how a basket intended for provision, but half or wholly filled with hay, might form the subject of a taunt against the poverty of an exiled people.

Thus far then the "cophinus" and the "fœnum" are perfectly clear. But how are we to explain the epithet which Juvenal gives to the Jewess, as "magna sacerdos arboris?" It is to this point my observations tend.

It has been assumed by several commentators that the "magna sacerdos arboris," like the "cophinus" and "fœnum," refer to the earlier passage, already cited, in the third Satire. There the Jews and Jewesses are represented as dwelling in the grove which adjoins the Porta Capena. But it is one thing to dwell among trees, and another to worship them or to be termed their high-priest. Now, if there be a point above all others on which the Old Testament is explicit and decided, it is in denouncing the idolatry of groves. The texts to this effect are so numerous that I cannot allege all or nearly all, but must content myself with two. Thus, in Exodus xxxiv. 13, "Ye shall destroy their altars, break their images, and cut down their groves;" and in Deuteronomy xvi. 21, "Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord God which thou shalt make thee."

It may indeed be urged that the Romans, for the most part, at this time held in utter disdain the precepts and the practices of the Jews, and might therefore the more easily misunderstand them. I readily admit the proneness to error on such points on the part of the victorious race, and indeed I shall have occasion to allege this very proneness as my argument proceeds. But it must be observed that in the question now before us, of idolatry in groves, the statement of Juvenal, according to this interpretation, would be not only divergent from the truth, but in direct and utter opposition to it. Such an opposition between statement and fact is to be admitted only on some degree of collateral proof and not altogether on supposition or surmise.

It has therefore appeared to several of those who have tried their hands at interpretations, that the passage in the Sixth satire is not sufficiently explained by a reference to the passage in the third. Other interpretations have accordingly been tried. The edition "In Usum Delphini" imagines an allusion to the prophetic oaks in the forest of Dodona. "Alludit Juvenalis ad responsa dari solita sub quercu in nemore Dodonæo per Jovis sacerdotes." Yet even that ingenious

controversialist immortalised in one of Lord Macaulay's essays, who drew a parallel between Enoch and King George the Second, might have failed to trace even the slightest shadow of resemblance between the rites of Jove in Epirus and those of Jehovah in the Holy Land.

Another view of the subject is taken by the Rev. Mr. Madan in his English notes. On the "magna sacerdos arboris" he says: "This is spoken in contempt of the Jews, who lived in woods and forests." Surely, however, it is impossible for any allegation to be less well founded. So far from living in forests, the Jews lived in a country which is now and ever has been especially bare of trees. Any inquirer may convince himself of this by referring to Dean Stanley's excellent and most justly popular book on Sinai and Palestine.

Mr. Gifford in his translation of Juvenal and in his notes upon this passage appears to give up the point in despair. "What is meant," he says, "by 'magna sacerdos arboris,' high-priestess of the tree, I cannot tell."

It is under these circumstances that I venture to propose a different interpretation, which, so far as I am aware, is altogether new. My theory is, that Juvenal confounded the early Christians with the Jews, and intended to point with a scoff at the worship of a crucified Redeemer.

To sustain this theory it should in the first place be shown that the Romans of that period did actually confuse together the Christians and the Jews. Of this there can be no stronger proof than is afforded by a well-known passage in Suetonius. He says of the Emperor Claudius: "Judæos, impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit." Here the meaning seems perfectly plain. The Christian proselytes often came to strife with their Jewish brethren of the old religion, and the Romans hearing the name of Christus or Chrestus—they cared little which form might be correct—re-echoed from side to side, they considered him, whether or not present in the city, as the author of the tumult; and they banished from Rome, with impartial severity, both parties to the fray.

The passage from Suetonius may, I think, suffice, but there are others also which lead to the conclusion that the Romans for some time regarded the Christians as no more than a sect of the Jewish Church.

It is also to be observed that there is another passage of Juvenal in which he alludes to the early Christians, without expressly naming them. This occurs in the first Satire, line 155:—

> —tædâ lucebis in illâ
> Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
> Et latum mediâ sulcum diducis arenâ.

It has always been understood that these lines refer to the horrible cruelties in the reign of Nero consequent upon the firing of Rome, when the Christians were smeared over with combustibles and set to burn as torches.

Reverting to my theme, the "magna sacerdos arboris," I may add that the taunt against the Crucifixion which I am ascribing to Juvenal is exactly such as we might expect him to make. The Cross, being then the mode of execution reserved for slaves and for the worst of malefactors, could not fail whenever associated with an object of religious worship to provoke the ridicule of any Pagan satirist. This tendency, such as we might *primâ facie* suppose it to exist, appears in fact not only in writings but also in designs. Not many years since, there was discovered by Father Garrucci in a garden near the Palatine Hill a caricature of the Pagan times. It represents, rudely scratched upon a wall, the figure of a man with the head of an inferior animal fastened to a cross, while below another man looks up as though in adoration, and some Greek words inscribed with faulty spelling state that here Alexamenos is worshipping God. A fac-simile of this very remarkable discovery is given by M. Champfleury in his recent volume, "Histoire de la Caricature Antique," which may with much advantage be consulted.

On the word "arbor," there is still something to be said. "Arbor infelix" was a phrase used by some of the Latin writers to denote the instrument of execution. It is quoted in that sense by Cicero in one of his orations, that for Caius Rabirius; "Caput obnubito," he says, "arbori infelici suspendito." And from the Pagan writers the word "arbor," in that sense, passed to the ecclesiastical.

Indeed, so far as regards the writings of theology within the Christian Church, the use of the word appears to have continued all through the middle ages. Here, for instance, is an extract of a letter addressed to me by a deeply read and accomplished friend who holds the Roman Catholic faith: "The term *arbor vitæ*, as a metaphor for the Cross, occurs in Drogo, a writer of the twelfth century, in his *Sermo de Sacramento Dominicæ Passionis*, in Migne's edition of the ecclesiastical writers of the Latin Church, vol. clxvi. page 1525. I find it also in the Latin translation of Moses Bar Cephas, a Mono-physite of the tenth century, but I do not know the date of the translation"

From mediæval Latin the phrase by natural transition passed into modern French Thus the *Dictionnaire Universel* of Furetière, in the edition of 1701, states, under the heading of *arbre*, "En termes de l'écriture on dit l'arbre de la croix où Jesus Christ a été attaché."

But this, it may be added, was not confined to France. The Latin word thus

applied appears to have had an influence on the English translation of the New Testament. In the original Greek the word referring to the Cross of Christ is ξύλον, which should properly be translated "wood." But the writers of our authorised version, having, as we may presume, the "arbor" in their thoughts, have rendered the ξύλον by "tree." Thus, for instance, in the fifth chapter of the Acts, verse 30, "The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree." Or in the first epistle of St. Peter, the second chapter, and the 24th verse, "Who His own self bare our sins in His own body on the tree."

It may be observed, in conclusion, that there is one reason perhaps why the sixth Satire of Juvenal has never been so carefully considered as many of the others. This was first pointed out to me by one of the professors at Oxford. It has not, at that University at least, been taken up for examinations, nor yet for preliminary lectures, on account of the exceeding grossness of some of its passages. Thus it has lain out of the way both of students and of teachers.

Postscript. Shortly after the foregoing paper was read before the Society of Antiquaries, I was favoured by the receipt of a Latin epistle from W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A. in which he combats learnedly, as usual with him, the interpretation of the lines of the great Roman satirist which I have ventured to put forth. This epistle, although Mr. Black did not think fit to communicate it formally to the Society, was nevertheless circulated by him in print among the Fellows and other persons likely to be interested in the subject. Wishing for nothing more than the fair discussion of a difficult passage, I have asked for and obtained Mr. Black's leave to reprint his letter in this place.

Inclyto Domino Philippo Henrico, Comiti Stanhopio, Societatis Antiquariorum Londiniensis Præsidi, Melas Miliarensis, debita cum observantia, S.D.

Cum tu, Domine mi, apud novissimum Societatis nostræ consessum, versus aliquot Juvenalis novo sensu interpretandos duxisses; assensum meum non dabam, sed suggestionem tantummodo proponebam, qua teipsum e discrimine magno, si libuerit, servares. Tunc tamen de cæteris, mihi prævisis, tacebam; diutius nunc silere nolo: tu enim auctoris illius verba sic intelligenda voluisti,

ut religionis Christianæ jacturam (ut opinor) non modicam feceris. Mulier illa "Judea tremens" fuit, seu secundum Poetæ existimationem, seu propria sua professione,—

> *Interpres legum Solymarum, et magna Sacerdos*
> *Arboris, ac summi fida Internuntia cœli.*
>
> (Juv. Sat. vi. 543-4.)

Si revera ut Christiana reputetur, uti proposuisti, longe diversa habenda est ab iis Christianis, qui paucos ante annos, suadente Paulo, *praxibus magicis* renuntiatis, *Ephesia grammata* sua combusserant. (Acta Apostolorum xix. 18, 19.) Sortilega quippe fuit ea Judæa, quæ "somnia qualiacumque" vendebat, resque futuras lucri causa nuntiare mendax et mendicans profitebatur; nec, etsi Romæ, ubi omnia venalia fuisse dicebantur, ubi tamen ætatis illius Christiani fide pietateque præstantissimi habebantur, nomen Christianum gessisse, una cum adeo pravis moribus, ullo modo potuit. Interroga, Domine mi, ac intimo corde reputa, num tali mulieri, qualis apud Poetam depingitur et necessario intelligitur, inter sorores sanctas Christianas locum ac nomen habere cœtus venerabilis Romanus tunc temporis publice aut privatim permittere voluisset. Illud credere mihi saltem nefas videtur. Hinc tibi primum discrimen oritur.

Alterum sequitur discrimen, haud minus periculosum. Quoniam "arboris" interpretatio tua dicet, quod *crucis* religionem quandam, immo potius patibuli horrendi, (cui Servator noster crudeliter clavis fuit affixus,) venerationem, ætas prima Christianismi, eaque purissima, coluerit. Quæ res nullis rationibus, nullisque argumentis validis, nititur: nec unum quidem exemplum e libris primo vel secundo ævo scriptis, crucis lignum veneratum aut venerandum docens, ostendi potest. Quod autem dixit alicubi Paulus, crucem Christi quodammodo memorans, figurate mortem vel crucifixionis pœnam indicat, non crucis materiam, aut formam, aut cultum. Nec ab Apostolis *arbor*, sed *lignum*, (ξύλον, οὐ δενδρόν,) nuncupatur crux; et martyrium subeundum, per crucis gestatæ vocabulum intelligi vult Jesus in Evangelio. Quis enim, ante Helenæ tempora, crucis lignum unquam veneratus est? Quis ante Tertullianum crucis formam, ut signum a Christianis factum aut inditum, usurpatam fuisse docuit? Quomodo autem crucis signaculo utendi mos, a Tertulliano memoratus, post religionis nostræ primordia sit exortus, paucis narrabo.

Juxta visiones propheticas, ii, qui Dei cultores ac servi fuerunt veracissimi, consignari quodam signo in frontibus suis videbantur. "Transi per mediam civitatem, et signa *thau* super frontes virorum gementium et dolentium super multis abominationibus quæ fiunt in medio ejus," oraculum fuit Ezechieli auditum (Ezech. ix.); et, "Nolite nocere terræ, quoadusque signemus servos Dei nostri in frontibus suis," vox fuit Angeli qui habuit "signum Dei vivi." (Apocal. vii.) Prius signum litera fuit Hebraica, unde T litera Græca, itemque Latina: quale vero posterius, non traditum est. At veteres quidam Christiani literæ illius formam similitudinem *crucis* habere videntes, seipsos forma crucis notare commenti sunt. Sic illud (eheu!) fecerunt, quod in alia visione vetatur, ubi charactere bestiæ signatos plurimos fore prædictum est. Numerum DCLXVI. in se characterem illum habere, ut etiam habet crux, et sic bestiæ characterem (nempe imperii Romani signaculum,) crucem esse, ante triginta annos fere primus inveni, remque demum publici juris feci A.D. M.DCCC.XLVIII. Hic autem est numeri calculus. Fiat monogramma, e duabus lineis invicem se in medio secantibus, quod crucis formam habeat: in eo igitur omnes characteres isti

quater comprehenduntur, nempe, C angulare, L, X, V, I, et I dimidiatum. Eorum valores sunt, $100 + 50 + 10 + 5 + 1 + \frac{1}{2} = 166\frac{1}{2}$, $\times 4 = 666$.

Miro modo confectus fuit numerus iste, mirosque usus habuit, inter Mensores publicos Romanos: characteris autem ejus forma ex instrumento gromatico desumpta est, ubi lineæ duæ cardinalis et decumana inscribantur. Unde *crucis* formam in templis ethnicis notatam fuisse, Scriptores Gromatici testantur; his verbis:

"Quare per ædes publicas in ingressibus antiqui fecerunt *crucem*, antica et postica? Quia Aruspices, secundum aruspicium, in duas partes orbem terrarum diviserunt: unam partem ab oriente in occidentem, aliam a meridiano in septentrionem. Ideoque, si quis Imperatorum aut Consulum, pugnantes, terras acquisierunt nomini Romano, et partiti sunt veteranis aut militibus Romanis, et pro voto suo diis templum ædificaverunt; ut sciretur a posteris quia adquisierant terras nomini Romano, secundum aruspicium, signum fecerunt in æde deorum suorum, ut scriberent antica et postica." (Rei Agrariæ Auctores Legesque variæ, ed. 1554, 4to. p. 236; ed. 1674, 4to. p. 297.)

Quid ergo? Num Judæa illa malefica, sortilega, sordida, mendicatrix, pro *Christiana* reputabitur? Nullo modo, Domine. An crucis veneratio *ætati primariæ Christianismi* tribuenda sit? Nulla ratione, Domine. Nam "arbor" illa poetice stat pro *nemore*, seu horto, ob Numæ Regis nomen venerato: ut in tertia dixerat Poeta,—

Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Judæis,—

Vectigalis causa, scilicet, ab Imperatore aut Senatu.

Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est
Arbor, et ejectis mendicat sylva Camœnis.
(Juv. Sat. iii. 13—16.)

Sic inter nos, templa Paulinum et Petrinum, Londiniensia, pecuniæ datoribus monstrantur, aut nuper monstrabantur. Vox etiam "sacerdos" pro *curatore*, aut *curatrice*, alicujus rei sacræ, locive sacri, stat; non pro cultrice, seu antistite sacra. Alias enim Poetæ verba interpretando, necessario in res dubias, immo periculosas, lector deducitur: nec pro Christianismi veritate historica facit interpretatio nova, sed (ni fallor) in ejus dedecus damnumque vertitur.

Hæc in partem bonam accipienda postulo. Vale, Domine. Ex ædibus meis Miliarensibus, prope Arcem Londiniensem, xv. Martii, A.D. M.DCCC.LXXI.

II.—*Some Account of Ancient Oaken Coffins discovered on the lands adjoining Featherstone Castle, near Haltwhistle, Northumberland.* *By* THOMAS WILLIAM SNAGGE, *Esq. M.A.*

Read Feb. 3rd, 1870.

In the year 1825 some labourers who were employed in draining a swampy field upon a farm belonging to the Featherstone Castle estate came upon what seemed to be part of the trunk of an oak-tree. Finding that it impeded the progress of their work they endeavoured to cut it out with an axe, when to their surprise they discovered that the trunk was hollowed and contained some human bones, which, however, speedily became dust when exposed to the air. Proceeding with their work they found the remains of four more coffins of the same kind, in one of which was part of a skull.

The workmen are said to have passed several coffins lying north and south, very near each other, and about 5 feet below the surface of the ground.

At the instance of Mr. Wallace,[a] the owner of Featherstone, a letter describing the discovery was written to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle by his land-steward, Mr. Hutton. This letter gave but an imperfect account of the coffins. It was followed by another letter addressed to the same Society by Colonel Blenkinsopp Coulson, a gentleman who happened to be on the spot when the discovery was made. This letter adds nothing to our information except that it describes the coffin as "formed from the bole of an oak-tree which has been split by the wedge and hollowed out in a very rough manner to admit the body, the lid secured at the head and feet by wooden pins. . . . . Few bones were found, and those after being exposed to the air shortly became dust."[b]

It does not appear that the communication led to any discussion in the Society, or that any theory was raised respecting the date or origin of the coffins. One of them, which was sent as a specimen, was placed in the museum of the Society, where I believe it still remains.

[a] Afterwards Lord Wallace, Master of the Mint.

[b] Both letters will be found printed in *Archæologia Æliana*, ii. 177. The discovery is also noticed in Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, iii. 350.

Nothing more was done in the matter, and the subject was almost forgotten when in 1859 a coffin exactly similar to those above mentioned was discovered in the same field by Mr. Clark, the present land-steward at Featherstone.

In 1863 a search was made at the instance of the Rev. Canon Greenwell of Durham, and another coffin was found which contained a skull in fair preservation. By the permission of Mr. Hope Wallace, the present owner of the Featherstone estate, Mr. Greenwell took the skull away, but I am not aware that he has since published any particulars of his discovery.

In 1864 I happened to be at Featherstone Castle, when I saw the coffin which Mr. Greenwell had exhumed in the previous year. Feeling interested in the discovery, I concluded that a further and more careful search would be very desirable, when an accurate note of all obtainable facts might be made, and the subject brought to the notice of competent archæologists, who might have leisure to deal with it.

In the month of August in the present year (1869) I was again at Featherstone, and, at my request, Mr. Hope Wallace kindly directed that a careful exploration should be made of the field in which the coffins were found. This was done under the very intelligent superintendence of his land-steward, Mr. Clark. A boring-rod was driven down in several parts of the field, and touched many times what seemed to be coffin-lids. In one place, where it was plain that a number of coffins lay together, a trench was made (about 15 feet by 4), and at a depth of from 5 to 6 feet the workmen came upon the coffins, one of which, a very perfect specimen, was laid completely bare.[a] It was not considered necessary to disturb more than one, although no less than four others were reached in digging this and an adjoining trench, and the boring-rod touched the hollow lids almost in every place where it was driven.

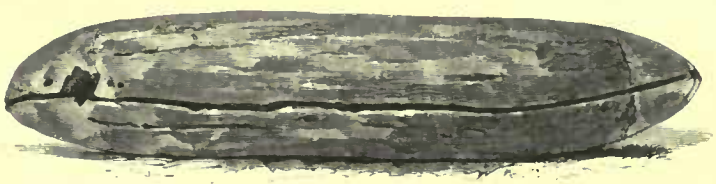


Fig. 1. External view of Oak Coffin.

The coffin (like those found in 1825) consisted of the trunk or bole of an oak-tree (see fig. 1) rudely split from end to end. No attempt appears to have been

[a] It lay nearly east and west, but several others lay in different directions.

made to reduce the huge log to "shapeliness." The ends were roughly dubbed to a rounded point, but evidently more with the object of severing the trunk at that place by successive strokes at an acute angle—as a woodman lays an axe to a tree—than for the purpose of shaping the coffin. The outer bark and sap-wood had indeed been removed or possibly decayed by time; but the coarse grain of the oak was untouched and was filled with grains of the sand or silt in which the relic had been imbedded.

An examination was made of the strata through which the trench was cut. For about a foot below the surface of the meadow there was a deposit of fine loam. Then came a singular layer of fibrous compost to the depth of about two feet, in which were innumerable twigs and bits of branches of trees, chiefly birch, in excellent preservation, and with the bark whole and silvery as when living. The shells of hazel-nuts were also found in great abundance in this compost. At some former period a forest must have existed on this spot. Next below the fibrous and woody compost we came upon river-sand of a dark bluish grey colour, and so fine in grain that it might at first sight have been mistaken for blue clay, as indeed it was by Mr. Hutton in 1825. This stratum of sand lay below the level of the neighbouring river, the South Tyne, and was very wet, the labourers being obliged to bale out the water as they proceeded with the trench. In this silt, 3 or 4 feet down, the coffins were found, and below them the sand became gradually coarser in grain, and river-stones were found.

As the workmen excavated the sand below the level of the upper half or lid of the coffin, clear water ran out through a small knot-hole in the lower end. When it ceased to flow we raised the lid carefully.

The upper and lower portions of the coffin had been fastened together by means of two oaken pegs an inch and a half or so in diameter, driven into holes which had been bored at each end for the purpose. These pegs had been decayed by time; we found but a fragment of one of them about one inch in diameter, which we knocked out of the hole into which it had been originally driven. The position of these peg-holes and the general appearance of the interior of both halves of the coffin are shown in fig. 2.

Before disturbing the coffin we made a careful search for any bones or other relics which it might contain; nothing however was found except one femoral bone and some fragments of those of the pelvis. The former was almost entire, but very dark in colour and reduced to a pulpy consistency. I may add that this bone was found in the part of the coffin it would have originally occupied, from which circumstance we may reasonably assume that the ground had been undis-

turbed since the time of sepulture. No traces remained of the skull or teeth. The coffin was then lifted carefully from the trench for the purpose of closer examination, and the trench was filled up again.

Fig. 2. Interior view of Oak Coffin.

On measuring the coffin we found the dimensions to be :—

	Ft.	In.
Outside length	7	4
Inside	5	$10\frac{1}{2}$
Girth	5	4
Open diameter (about)	1	7
Inner depth (including lid) . . .	1	1
Thickness of "gunwale," [a] (about) . .	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$

To form the coffin the trunk or log had been split from end to end, seemingly by means of a wedge, the split taking the direction of the grain of the wood; the upper and lower halves therefore fitted with an almost imperceptible joining. At a distance of 9 or 10 inches from the rounded extremities of the log the ends of the inner opening were squared off, and the inside had been hollowed by means of the rudest implements, and evidently at a considerable expenditure of labour. Transverse cuts had been made at intervals of about one-third of the distance, from end to end, and the wood torn or wedged away in the direction of the grain, from cut to cut.

The marks of the tools used were very plainly visible, and seemingly no attempt had been made to conceal or efface them, or, as one might express it, to "finish" the work in any way. At the narrower end of the coffin deep indent-

[a] For want of a better expression I am obliged to borrow a word describing part of a canoe or boat, which indeed the halves much resembled.

ations had been made in the interior of the upper half or lid, apparently to make room for the feet of the corpse.

Some of the marks were those of a flat-edged, but very rude, tool, about 4 inches broad; but the greater number appeared to have been made by an instrument of an arrow-head shape, and all the tool impressions to have been caused by *striking*. Here and there imperfect marks were found, as if the workman had missed his aim. Of *cutting* we could detect no trace. From a slight difference in the size and shape of the tool-marks in the upper and lower halves of the coffin, it was not difficult to infer that they were hollowed by different hands, possibly simultaneously, in order to save time.

After the coffin had been raised from the trench, the workmen found lying in the sand below it a flat piece of wood (oak) of irregular shape, about half an inch thick, and pierced at unequal distances with five or six round holes half an inch or so in diameter. This piece or plate of wood, of which an accurate drawing is given in fig. 3, measured 10 inches in length by about 7 broad. The holes

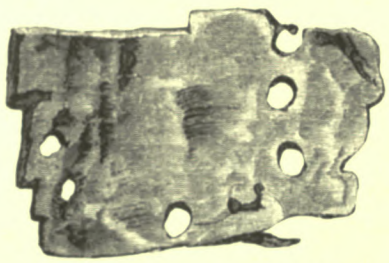


Fig. 3. Reparation-plate found with Oak Coffin.

had apparently been made by burning, and in one place a hole had been begun but left unfinished. The fabrication of this oaken plate must have cost much labour, as the tools at the command of the maker were evidently of the rudest kind. We were for some time puzzled to conjecture the purpose for which this wooden plate had been intended; but, upon examining the coffin when closed, we found that there was a gap, probably a knot-hole, in one side near the head (see fig. 1), and round it were small holes bored or burnt and corresponding in size and position to those in the oaken plate. It was plain that the plate was simply a patch made to cover or repair the gap. The pegs with which it had been fastened were not to be found: possibly they had decayed away,[a] and the patch had slipped down to the place where it was found.

[a] The pegs which fastened the lid of the coffin were merely bits of the smaller branches of the tree, which the workmen doubtless found conveniently rounded. The pegs fastening the patch were probably of the same kind but smaller, and the finer quality of their fibre would account for their earlier decay.

Lastly, as to the locality of the discovery. The field, which forms part of a farm called Wyden, Wydon, or Wythen Eals, lies within 200 yards of the south branch of the River Tyne, and about two miles south-west of the town of Haltwhistle. (See the Index Map of the Ordnance Survey and also the six-inch map of the locality.) From the lie of the land it must have been at one time a back-reach of the river, and continually under water. It is also known as part of what was called, in a deed dated A.D. 1223, the "Temple Land;" and it is not a little remarkable that a charge of 19*s*. per annum was payable from time immemorial by the owner of Featherstone to the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle in respect of this very field, being, as I was informed, the only property in the county of Northumberland possessed by that corporation. Upon this charge being redeemed about a year and a half ago, it was ascertained that those entitled could show no other title than prescription.

There are in the field traces of the foundations of some building, but they have not been explored. The "Maiden Way" is about a mile to the west of the field or "haugh," and a small farm-house close by still bears the name of the Peat Gate or Piet Yett.

Similar discoveries of oaken coffins of uncertain date have occasionally but not frequently occurred both in England and in Scotland.

One of the best known instances is the interment at Gristhorpe between Scarborough and Filey, brought to light in the year 1834. Here the whole skeleton of a tall man was found lying in a coffin formed, as in the Haltwhistle examples, of a single trunk of oak, split into two portions and hollowed by rude tools, probably flint chisels. The body, which had evidently been wrapped in the skin of an animal having soft hair, was accompanied by objects in flint, bronze, and bone.

A full account of this discovery illustrated by woodcuts was given by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. in the Gentleman's Magazine.[a] This communication includes notices of a similar coffin found at Great Driffield in Yorkshire, in 1856, and of another at Beverley in the same county in 1848. Besides these instances Mr. Wright records the finding in 1857 of fourteen tree coffins near the surface of the ground, on a spot understood to be the site of the old parish church of Selby, also in Yorkshire. These wooden chests lay parallel to each other in a direction nearly east and west.

A distinction is noticed in the workmanship of these coffins and those of Gristhorpe and Beverley, for in these latter the cavity for the reception of the body

[a] August, 1857, vol. iii. New Series, p. 114; also previously, with an engraving, by Mr. William Williamson, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Dec. 1834.

must have been finished, says Mr. Wright, internally with the chisel, as their ends stand at right angles or nearly so to the bottom, which is flat in the whole length, while in the Selby coffin the cavity has been formed by an adze or similar instrument. The Selby and Beverley coffins agreed in the fastening down of the lid by wooden pegs, which, as before stated, were used also at Haltwhistle.

From the circumstances of the locality, and from the absence of *insignia*, it was considered that the Selby interments were Christian. Mr. Wright was disposed to refer the Gristhorpe and other tumuli in the maritime district of Yorkshire to the south of Scarborough, to the later Roman period. Dr. Thurnam, however, who has figured the skull from the Gristhorpe coffin, and gone at some length into the matter,[a] concludes that that interment is British, probably not earlier than two or three centuries before, nor later than the first century of our era.

He agrees in thinking the Selby coffins, as well as some others of similar character, found, at great depth, in the centre of the city of York, thirty or forty years ago, to be probably Christian and early Saxon.

Another interment of a body wrapped in skins and placed in an oak coffin was discovered in 1767 in a barrow at Stowborough near Wareham in Dorsetshire.[b] This, says Dr. Thurnam, nearly approaches the Gristhorpe example, although it is doubtful whether in this case there was a lid to the coffin.

While on the subject it may be well to notice the discovery at a great depth in the blue silt of Beeding Level, Sussex, of a rude coffin formed of four hewn trunks of oak tree, fastened together by oaken pegs, although the construction of this chest does not exactly agree with that of the specimens more particularly in question.

This coffin contained a skull and bones, the former stained blue, the latter filled with blue phosphate of iron.[c]

Dr. Wilson in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*[d] has noticed the few instances known to him of the discovery of tree-coffins in that country. He remarks that "such examples are less rare than is supposed, though they are little calculated to excite interest in the minds of those under whose observation unfortunately such discoveries most frequently come."

[a] *Crania Britannica*. Description of plate lii.

[b] *Crania Britannica, ubi supra*, and plate xlv. page 2. See also Hutchins's *Dorset*, ed 1774, vol. i. p. 25; edit. 1861, vol. i. p. 100.

[c] Mantell's *Wonders of Geology*, page 47, paragraph 34, Third edition, 1839. The author mentions that for the skull and bones alluded to he is indebted to Warren Lee, Esq. of Lewes.

[d] Second edition (1863), pp. 160-164.

He proceeds to notice the following instances:

1. At Cairngall, Longside, Aberdeenshire, where on the removal of a tumulus two coffins were exposed lying east and west, neither of them containing bones. They had parallel sides and rounded ends, with two projecting knobs to facilitate carriage.

2. At Culsalmond, Aberdeenshire, in 1812, on the spot whence a cairn had been removed. The coffin, if indeed it can so be called, was of a different construction, again, from those at Haltwhistle, being apparently made of six separate pieces from the trunk of an oak, with a rude attempt at fitting the bottom to the sides by a groove. The wooden cists appeared to have been surrounded by a wall of unhewn stones. An urn was found in the cist, and there were strong traces of the action of fire in the grave, so that this would seem to have been an interment by cremation, and of a class different from that with which we are now dealing.

3. Dr. Wilson narrates his own experience of the discovery in 1850 of two more examples of the oaken cist. The locality was the Castle Hill at Edinburgh. At a depth of about 25 feet, immediately below a layer of vegetable matter, in which was found a coin of the Emperor Constantius, the excavators came upon two rough coffins of oak-tree, split and hollowed, with a circular recess for the head. They lay nearly east and west, with the head to the west.

To these British examples we may add one from Denmark, to which Dr. Wilson, citing Worsaae,[a] refers. In a barrow at the village of Vollersten a cist was discovered hollowed out of a very thick oaken trunk about ten feet in length, in which were found the remains of a woollen mantle, a sword, dagger, palstave, and brooch of bronze, a horn comb, and a round wooden vessel with two handles.

Lastly may be mentioned the occurrence of oaken coffins of very similar construction to that of the Haltwhistle examples, and discovered not many years ago in the graves of a tribe of Alamanni at Oberflacht in Suabia,[b] where "the

[a] *Primæval Antiquities of Denmark.*

[b] *Archæologia*, xxxvi. 129, *et seq.* where a very full account of the Oberflacht discoveries is given by W. M. Wylie, Esq. F.S.A. The author observes that it is not improbable that this mode of burial was tolerably general among the Teutonic tribes of the continent at a very early period, especially in the wooded districts. He seems however to have considered the Gristhorpe discovery to be the only one of the kind in England, as he refers to it as the "sole example of a *Todten-baum* in our own country." He notices instances of similar modes of burial among the Laplanders, mentioned by Scheffer, *Lapponia*, c. xxvii. p. 314, ed. Franc. 1673; and among the Circassians, as described by an old French writer of the sixteenth century, "*Funerailles et diverses manières d'ensevelir, descrites par Charles Guichard.* Lyon, 1583, livre iii. pp. 408-9."

more prevailing mode seems to have been to fell a massive oak, cleave the bole into nearly equal parts, and hollow out the interior to serve as a sarcophagus. After the body and the various accompanying relics were placed in the tree-coffin (*todten-baum*) the two parts were refitted and firmly pegged together. In the whole of this process no trace of the saw appears. It was managed with the axe or adze alone, whence it follows that the stems are frequently found unevenly divided."

To return to the Haltwhistle coffins. I have endeavoured in this short paper to detail as simply as I can the noticeable facts connected with this interesting discovery, leaving it for those who are conversant with such subjects to theorize respecting them. I may add that my friend Mr. Hope Wallace, whilst he is reluctant to allow the field and its contents to be needlessly disturbed for the gratification of mere curiosity, is most willing to afford every facility for proper scientific investigation.

III.—*Observations on the probable Sites of the Jewish Temple and Antonia, and the Acra, with reference to the results of the recent Palestine Explorations.* *By* Thomas Lewin, *Esq.*, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*

Read Feb. 16th and 23rd, 1871.

Prefatory Remarks.

The recent publication of *The Recovery of Jerusalem*[a] assists us materially in solving some of the most perplexing questions as to the topography of the Holy City. The points of greatest interest are 1. The genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre; 2. The lines of the walls; and, 3. The relative sites of the Temple and Antonia and the Acra.

As regards the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre the explorations have now established the important fact, so much fought for and so warmly opposed, that the Tyropœon Valley does actually run eastward in a gradual slope from the Jaffa Gate down to the Haram, and then deflects southward to Siloam,[b] so that the Holy Sepulchre may very well at the date of the Crucifixion have stood *without* the city, and the great objection to the genuineness of the Sepulchre has thus been effectually removed. A paper upon this subject was some time back read by me before the Society of Antiquaries,[c] and all that I there advanced has since been confirmed; I have no intention however at present of renewing the controversy, though, if it were necessary, I could now fortify my positions by many additional arguments.

As regards the circuit of the walls and the sites of the Temple and Antonia and the Acra, I feel myself much indebted to Captain Warren for the candour with which in *The Recovery of Jerusalem* he has acknowledged the general correctness of my views.

As to the *line of the walls*, he writes, "I still think Mr. Lewin's plan of the old walls is nearer correctness than any other;"[d] but, while he adopts the course of

[a] *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, a narrative of exploration and discovery in the City and the Holy Land. By Capt. Wilson, R.E., and Capt. Warren, R.E. London. Bentley. 1871.

[b] "Our excavations in the city have established the certainty of a valley running down from the citadel (at the Jaffa Gate) to the Sanctuary." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 268.

[c] *Archæologia*, xli. 116.

[d] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 309.

the walls as I had drawn them generally, he makes one variation which to my judgment is far from being an improvement, and indeed is in direct opposition to an express statement of Josephus, our great authority. Captain Warren draws the line of the first wall in a regular course without any *bend* round Siloam. But the words of Josephus are, "then with its face to the south the wall *makes a turn* above Siloam, (ἐπίστρεφον,) and then again deflects with its face to the east to the Pool of Solomon, and reaches as far as the place called Ophlas."[a] Thus Josephus distinctly marks the wall's curve above Siloam before it starts on the eastern side. This bend in the wall is further confirmed by the flight of Zedekiah from Jerusalem when it was captured by Nebuchadnezzar, for he "fled out of the city by night, by the way of the King's gardens, by the gate *betwixt the two walls*, and he went out by way of the plain"[b] (of Jericho). And the same bend is no doubt referred to by Tacitus in the expression "muri per artem obliqui aut *introrsus sinuati*."[c]

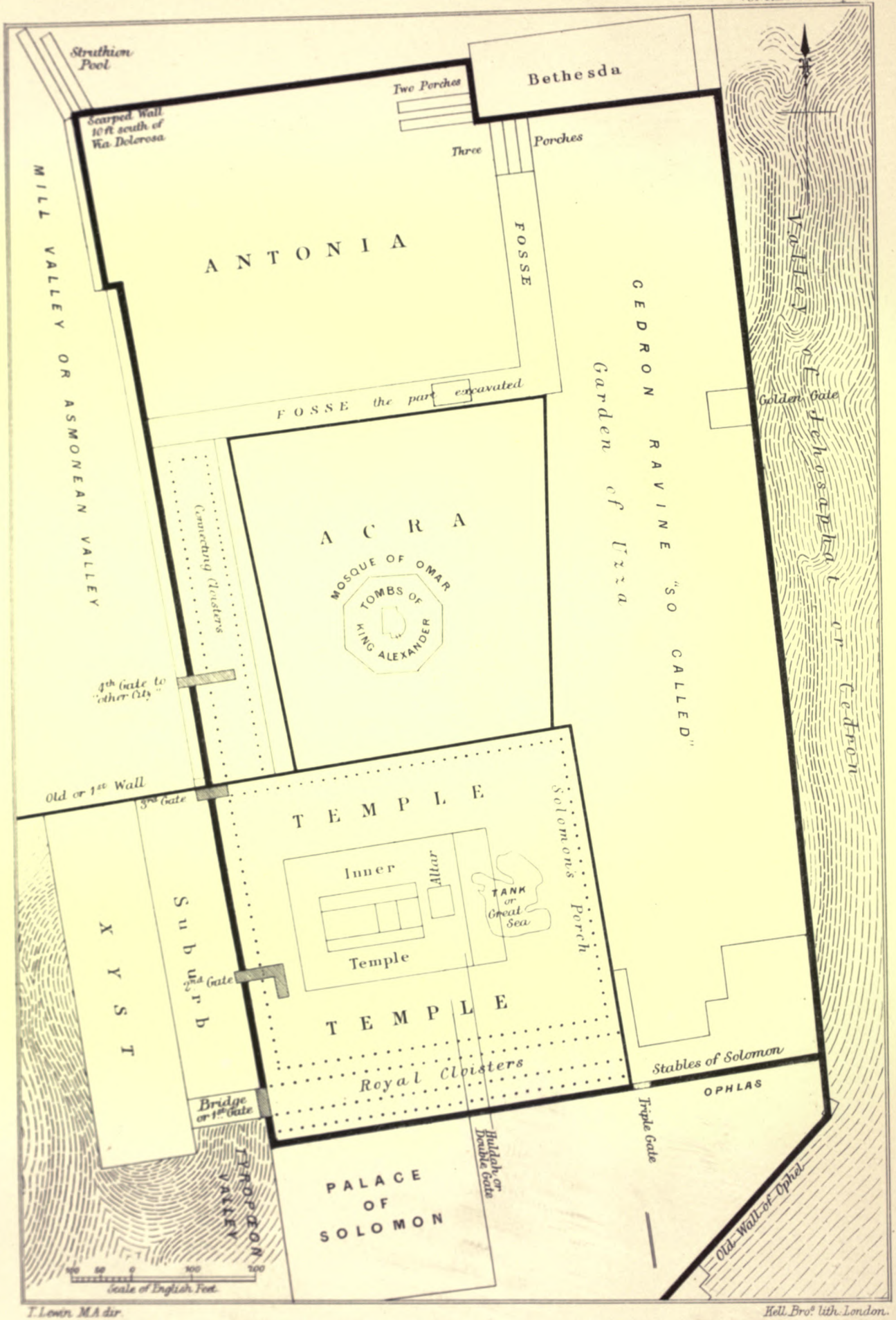
As to the *Temple*, Captain Warren places it, as I had done, at the south-west corner of the Haram, but differs from me in this—that, instead of confining the Temple to a square of 600 feet, he assigns it much larger dimensions, and extends it eastward all across the Haram to the south-east corner. I have carefully considered the grounds on which he arrives at this conclusion, and am satisfied, and hope to show, that they are founded upon a misunderstanding of some ambiguous passages in Josephus.

As to the *Castle of Antonia*, Captain Warren places it at the north-west corner of the Haram, and I have long since satisfied myself that this is the true site, and the recent explorations have now made it perfectly clear.

With respect to the *Acra*, I am obliged to differ entirely from Captain Warren's view. He places it on the *west* side of the Asmonean or Mill Valley, a theory which is at variance both with the Book of Maccabees and Josephus. I have no doubt, for the reasons which will be adduced, that it stood on the east side of the Asmonean Valley, upon the Haram itself, to the north of the Temple and to the south of Antonia.

I hope it needs no apology for venturing to controvert any opinion expressed by Captain Warren. The very object of the mission was to collect materials for future discussion. Captain Warren very properly considered it right, as he possessed so great advantages, to express his own convictions, and he has done so with all becoming diffidence, and without the least intention, in so doubtful a

[a] *Bell.* v. 4, 2. [b] Jer. xxx. 19, 4: 2 Kings, xxv. 4. [c] Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 11.



T. Lewin. M.A. dir. Kell. Bros. lith. London.

PLAN OF THE HARAM, JERUSALEM.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries, of London, 1872.

matter, of pressing them upon the reader as oracles. The topography of the Holy City is not to be determined by actual exploration exclusively, but by a careful study also of the text of Josephus. The two guides must go hand in hand, or rather must be pitted against each other until they are made to agree. One principal object of the present paper is to bring the light of the historian, whom I have now studied for a quarter of a century, to bear upon the recent survey, so far, at least, as concerns the *Temple* and *Antonia* and the *Acra*.

As I am about to address myself in particular to the Haram, and as many persons may not be familiarly acquainted with it, I beg leave to offer a homely illustration of the area. Suppose a folio volume laid flat and unopened upon the table. This will represent well enough the Haram generally, which is a rectangular platform reaching 1617 feet on the west side from north to south and 932 feet on the south side from east to west. Next suppose a very thin quarto, about half the size of the folio, laid upon the folio about the middle but somewhat nearer to the left-hand edge than the right-hand edge. This will represent the inner platform, which we propose to call the inner plateau. It extends 550 feet from north to south and 450 feet from east to west, and rises about 15 feet above the ordinary level of the Haram Lastly, suppose a square boss to project about a quarter of an inch from the middle of the thin quarto. This will represent the rock called the Sakhra, over which has been erected the Mosque of Omar. Thus the folio is the Haram, the thin quarto is the inner plateau, and the boss is the Sakhra. The terms Haram and Sakhra will speak for themselves; but when the term inner plateau is used it will be understood that the plateau of 550 feet by 450 feet is the one referred to. In the plan, Plate I., which accompanies this paper, I have mainly followed the one prepared by the Palestine Exploration Committee.

The Sites of the Temple and Antonia and the Acra.

It would require a volume to discuss the various theories as to the relative sites of these edifices, and I have no intention of entering upon so wide a field. The object is to show, which I think can now be done satisfactorily, what were the *true* positions of them, and if this can be established it will be unnecessary to negative any other hypothesis, as in each case an *alibi* will have been proved.

The Site of the Temple.

The site of the Temple naturally presents itself first for our consideration, and by the Temple is here meant the Temple in its largest sense, as comprising the

outer court, which was accessible to the Gentiles. As to the Temple proper, the ***inner court***, which could only be entered by Israelites, the prophecy has been strictly fulfilled, and not one stone has been left upon another. But if we can determine the position of the outer court we shall have no difficulty in determining, within very narrow limits, what was the site of the inner court.[a]

1. In the first place Josephus states over and over again, both directly and indirectly, that the Temple, the outer one, was a square measuring 600 feet on each side.[b] Sometimes he writes that the length or breadth was a stadium,[c] which is 600 feet. Sometimes that it was 400 cubits,[d] which again is 600 feet; and sometimes he leaves the same thing to inference, as where he tells us that the southern cloister consisted of 162 columns in four rows,[e] viz. forty in each row, and, as the style of architecture was Corinthian, the inter-columniation or space from the centre of one column to the centre of the next would according to the rules of architecture be about 15 feet, which again would give 600 feet for the whole length.[f] Josephus, be it remembered, was a *priest*, and as such in constant attendance upon the Temple, and must have been familiar with every inch of it. He could not therefore have been mistaken, nor can we suspect him (for he is a most honest writer) of wilful mis-statement. Besides, if he were capable of deviating from the truth, the leaning of his mind would be not in the way of curtailment and abridgment but of exaggeration and expansion. I consider it, therefore, as a certain and incontrovertible basis that the Temple was a square of 600 feet, and if there be found in his writings any dictum inconsistent with this assumption (as I believe there is not) the error must lie not in the description of the Temple but in the assertion at supposed variance with it.

Josephus proceeds to say that this square was a solid one, and had been formed by embanking with massive walls the three sides, viz. the south and west and east, and then filling up the hollows, and by scarping or cutting away the rock on the

[a] The placing of the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram, and the leading arguments in support of it, are not new, but will be found in the author's *Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*, and in a much earlier work by James Fergusson, Esq. entitled *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, 1847. To him must be given the credit of having first suggested what I conceive to be the true theory of the Temple site. On this point we agree; on all others—the sites of Antonia and the Acra, the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre, and the lines of the city walls—we unfortunately differ.

[b] *Ant.* xv. 11, 3; xx. 9, 7; *Bell.* vi. 5, 4.

[c] *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

[d] *Ant.* xx. 9, 7.

[e] *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

[f] See *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, p. 13.

fourth side, the north.[a] Now if we look to the south-west corner of the Haram we find a combination of all these features. Thus, of the four angles of the Haram, the only one which is a rectangle is that at the south-west corner.

If again we measure 600 feet from the south-west corner along the southern wall we come at once to an abrupt termination of the solid square, for here commences the *souterrain* or series of vaults erected in comparatively modern times by the Emperor Justinian. Strip off this mask, and the eastern wall of the Temple square of 600 feet discovers itself.

But, further, the scarpment of the rock on the north side still exists, for if we draw a line from west to east from a point in the western wall at the distance of 600 feet from the south-west corner of the Haram, it coincides with the southern face of the *inner plateau*, which is a projecting rock, and is ascended to this day from the south by flights of steps.

2. The next argument is more convincing still, as combining a greater variety of details, and of a singularly minute character. Josephus mentions that the Temple was connected with the upper city by a bridge, and that the bridge led from the south-west corner of the Temple to the Xyst or Gymnasium.[b] The chances would be greatly against any relic of the bridge being still traceable, and indeed until recently it was not known that any vestige of it survived. But a few years back it was observed by Dr. Robinson that at the south-west corner of the Haram, on the western side, the uniformity of the wall was broken by the protrusion, as was supposed, of some stones of vast dimensions, as if forced from their places by extraordinary pressure from within. Dr. Robinson caught the happy idea that these stones formed the butt end of the bridge; and this, as now admitted on all hands, they proved to be. We have thus demonstrative proof that here was the south-west corner of the Temple.

The late explorations at Jerusalem show that the bridge was of a single arch; and if so, then, as according to Josephus it led to the Xyst, we should look at the western end of the bridge for the Xyst, and there accordingly we find it—a long rectangular space reaching from north to south, level and unoccupied, and capable, with little expense, of resuming its original use.[c] The ordinary length of a xyst was a stadium, and, as this bridge was at the southern end of the Xyst, the first wall which passed along the northern end of it[d] must have been about 600 feet to the north of the bridge, and this would carry the wall along the line of the present approach to the Sinsileh gate of the Haram, which was its probable

[a] Διακόψαντες δὲ τὸ προσάρκτιον τεῖχος, κ.τ.λ. τειχίσαντες δὲ ἐκ ῥίζης τριχῆ κυκλῳ τὸν λόφον, κ.τ.λ. *Bell.* v. 5, 1; *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

[b] *Ant.* xiv. 4, 2; *Bell.* i. 7, 2; ii. 16, 3; vi. 6, 2; vi. 8, 1.

[c] *Siege of Jerusalem*, p. 136.

[d] *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

course, as no traces of it can be discovered elsewhere. The Xyst and the western side of the Temple were thus exactly commensurate.

But further, according to Josephus, the southern cloister or colonnade consisted of a grand central nave and two side aisles; and one naturally supposes that the bridge which ran across the valley and connected the Temple with the Xyst led from this central nave. Indeed the only reason that can be assigned why there should be a triple colonnade on the south side, while there was only a single one on the three other sides, is that the grand approach to the Temple, from the palace of Herod in the High Town, was across the Xyst over the bridge to the southern cloister. Can we discover then any relation between the bridge and the southern cloister, any adaptation of the one to the other? We can, in the most remarkable manner. The central nave was 45 feet wide, and the two aisles were each 30 feet wide, making together 105 feet, so that the centre of the nave was $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the south wall. But to this we must add the thickness of the Temple wall, which, according to Josephus, was 12 feet,[a] and which, being added to the $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet, makes $64\frac{1}{2}$ feet as the distance of the centre of the southern cloister from the exterior of the southern side of the Temple inclosure. Let us now look to the position of the bridge. The abutment of the bridge, as now projecting from the wall, measures 51 feet in width, *i.e.* from north to south, so that the centre of the bridge is $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet from each side of the bridge, but the commencement of this fragment of the bridge is 39 feet from the south-west corner, which, with the $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet, makes just $64\frac{1}{2}$ feet as the distance of the centre of the bridge from the south-west corner.[b] The centre of the bridge then coincides with the centre of the southern cloister to a single inch. The bridge, therefore, was constructed for the cloister, and the cloister for the bridge. Nay, the very width of the bridge agrees with that of the width of the central nave; for, though the latter was 45 feet and the former 51 feet, yet we must bear in mind that the bridge would require parapets on each side, and if we allow 3 feet for each parapet (which would be the proper amount), the width of the bridge being reduced by 6 feet, would exactly correspond with the 45 feet, the width of the nave.[c]

[a] ὀκτάπηχυν τὸ εὖρος, *Bell.* vi. 5, 1. Josephus is here speaking of the wall of the inner Temple. But it is implied in another passage that both walls were of the same dimensions, for he tells us that "the cloisters of both Temples were supported by a wall of marvellous breadth," and so assumes that they were both of equal breadth: Ἄμφω δὲ ἦσαν μεγάλου τείχους· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ἔργον μέγιστον. *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

[b] Captain Wilson, in his *Notes on the Ordnance Survey*, p. 27, makes the distance 64 feet, *i.e.* half a foot less.

[c] This argument is taken from the *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, p. 12 *et seq.*

3. Another feature for identifying the site of the Temple is the number and position of the gates; and in this particular also the south-west corner of the Haram answers to all the requisites. On the south side, says Josephus, was (not πύλη, a single gate, but) πύλαι, a double gateway, and this was (not *at* the middle but) at *about* the middle, κατὰ μέσον.[a] Now, if we take 600 feet along the southern wall of the Haram from the south-west corner, and assume it to be the southern wall of the Temple, we find the very double gateway referred to at the point indicated; for at the distance of 340 feet from the south-west corner of the western end of the 600 feet square, and therefore at about the middle, is the double passage commonly known as the Huldah Gate, running up to the surface of the Haram by a gentle incline. The two corridors to which the double gateway leads are divided by a row of pillars, and the walls are constructed of large stones, which were originally bevelled, but have since been pared away, in order to produce (somewhat barbarously) a flat and even surface.

At the entrance of the Huldah Gate is a vestibule, supported by a thick column 6½ feet in diameter and 21 feet high, with a foliated capital of a Jewish character, and what is most remarkable about it is this singular coincidence: the southern cloister consisted, as we have said, of four rows of heavy columns, 162 in number, and deducting the odd pair, which were for carrying the wall over the bridge, there were 40 in each row, which, as the length was 600 feet, would give an intercolumniation of 15 feet. As each side aisle was 30 feet wide, one of these rows of columns must have stood at the distance of 30 feet from the southern wall; but, as the wall itself was 12 feet thick, the distance of the row of columns from the exterior of the southern wall was 42 feet, but the column which stands in the vestibule below is just 42 feet from the entrance; that is, the columns in the vestibule stood exactly under the second row of columns in the cloister above, and no doubt supported one of the columns of the grand nave.[b]

With respect to the gates on the west side of the Temple, it is commonly assumed that, according to Josephus, there were four gates on the west side of the square of 600 feet; but, on examining the language of the historian minutely, I do not find this to be exactly the case. He begins by saying generally that Herod rebuilt the Temple, and enlarged the sacred inclosure (περίβολον, *Antiq.* xv. 11, 1) by incorporating Fort Antonia by means of connecting cloisters running between the two. See *Bell.* i. 21, 1. He then describes in detail the Temple proper of 600

[a] *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

[b] For this argument the author is indebted to the *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, p. 15.

feet (*Ant.* xv. 11, 3), and then Antonia, situate to the north of the Temple (*Ant.* xv. 11, 4); and then proceeds thus: "But on the western side of the *inclosure* (τοῦ περιβόλου) stood *four* gates, one leading to the palace (viz. of Herod, in the upper city, the intervening ravine being bridged for a roadway), and two to the suburb, and the remaining one to the other city (viz. that inclosed by the second wall.") (*Ant.* xv. 11, 5.) The inclosure, therefore, or περίβολος, is not that of the square of 600 feet, but the area generally of the sacred precinct, as comprising the Temple proper and also the cloisters running from the north-west corner of the Temple proper to Antonia. We have therefore to look for four gates along the western side of the Haram, and there we find them all.

The *first* and principal gate was, of course, that which opened upon the bridge, and, as we know the position of the bridge from the fragment of it that remains, we know the position of the gate above. The *second* gate was discovered by Dr. Barclay, and stands at the distance of 270 feet from the south-west corner of the Haram.[a] Part only of the lintel is visible above ground outside the Haram, and the rest is occluded by the house of Abu Seud Effendi and by the accumulation of soil. In the interior of the Haram the gateway is still visible, and is the little recess in which Mahomet, according to the legend, tied up his mule before taking his heavenly flight. It is also not to be lost sight of that the masonry and turn of the arch of this gateway correspond exactly with the style and character of the Huldah or Double gate on the south of the Temple, and are evidently both of them parts of one uniform design. It has since been ascertained by the recent explorations that this gateway was approached by a causeway which crossed the hollow of the Tyropœon,[b] and then, piercing the wall of the Haram, made a turn to the right in ascending to the surface. It may now be referred to as the *Prophet's Gate*, as being contiguous to the modern gate so called. The *third* gate led to the northern cloister in the same manner as the first gate did to the southern cloister, and is identical with the present principal entrance to the Haram, which stands just where the northern cloister would be on the supposition that the 600 feet square of the Temple inclosure occupied the south-west corner of the Haram. This part of the Haram wall has been so broken up from time to time that the only remains of the third gate now discoverable are the bevelled stones

[a] *Barclay*, p. 489; *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 111.

[b] "It appears that the road to the Prophet's Gate from the Tyropœon Valley may have been by means of a causeway raised forty-six feet above the rock. Whether it may have been solid or supported on arches is not apparent." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 115.

of a fallen arch.[a] The *fourth* gate led up to the cloister which continued the western cloister of the Temple proper to Antonia. It lies twenty feet to the south of the modern Gate of the Bath, and has been converted into and is now used as a cistern. It closely resembles the Huldah Gate on the south, and also the second gate, in being vaulted in a similar manner, and of the same width, and running just the same distance with the second gate through the Haram wall into the sanctuary, but with this variation, that it does not, like the second gate, make a turn to the south at the eastern extremity.[b] Captain Warren adds, "I am under the impression that this may be one of the suburban gates."[c] It was not a suburban gate, but what Josephus calls the gate leading "to the other city,"[d] viz. to the quarter inclosed by the second wall.

We have thus the four gates mentioned by Josephus, viz. the first or Bridge Gate, the second or Prophet's Gate, the third or David's Gate (for so we may call the third gate as leading to David Street), and the fourth the Bath Gate adjoining the modern gate so called. The four gates have a mutual relation, as the Bridge Gate and Prophet's Gate, the two southern, are at the same relative distances from each other as are David's Gate and the Bath Gate, the two northern.

4. We may draw another argument from the water supply to the Temple upon which recent discoveries have lately thrown much additional light. The Temple is represented by Josephus as honeycombed with aqueducts,[e] and this feature is found in the area we have assigned to the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram. The aqueduct which conveyed the water from the Pool of Solomon to Jerusalem, a distance of seven miles, still exists, and winds its way round the High Town, now called Sion, and crosses the Tyropœon by the raised embankment leading to the Sinsileh Gate, the principal entrance to the Haram at the end of David Street. It may fairly be presumed that, as the service of the Temple was the main object, the aqueduct on reaching the sacred inclosure would run directly to the Temple before it supplied the precincts adjacent. This aqueduct was investigated by Pierotti (who, whatever his short comings in other

[a] "At twenty-four feet came in contact with a mass of masonry, apparently the voussoirs and drafted stones of a fallen arch and wall." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 76.

[b] "It runs east and west, and is shewn as piercing the sanctuary wall on plan. It is singularly like the vaulted passage leading from the Prophet's Gate. It is of the same width, and runs the same distance into the sanctuary, but it does not appear to turn round as the other passage does." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 116.

[c] *Ibid.* p. 117.

[d] εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

[e] Τοὺς ὑπονόμους τοῦ Ἱεροῦ. *Bell.* v. 3, 1; and *see* vii. 2, 3.

respects, has greatly advanced our knowledge of the ancient waterworks), and it has been found that the aqueduct on reaching the western side of the Haram at a point about 600 feet to the north of the south-west corner turns directly south by an ancient channel within the Haram, and then runs eastward across the very area which we have assigned to the Temple. The largest subterranean reservoir or cistern would naturally be under some part of the Temple square of 600 feet, and so it is; for under what would be the Court of the Women (so called as the only court to which the women had access, and the most frequented part of the Temple), lies the Great Sea, first discovered by Dr. Barclay, excavated from the solid rock and supported by massive columns of living stone, and capable of holding nearly two million of gallons.[a] The aqueduct feeds this vast tank and then distributes the surplus water over the other parts of the Haram.

5. We may further test the accuracy of our hypothesis as to the site of the Temple by an anecdote recorded by Josephus:—The palace of Agrippa was on the High Town, on the brow of Sion, just over the Xyst, and looked towards the Temple.[b] In order to command a view of what was passing in the Temple, and more particularly the sacrifices,[c] Agrippa raised the roof of his palace, but this was resented by the hierarchy of the Temple, so that by way of counteracting the designs of Agrippa they erected a counterwall upon the ἐξέδρα or alcove of the western wall of the inner Temple.[d] This ἐξέδρα, as there was only one, must have occupied the middle of the western wall, so that the altar where the sacrifices were offered, and the ἐξέδρα, and the raised roof of the palace, must thus all have been in the same straight line; and this would be the case if the Temple square be located at the south-west corner of the Haram, but not otherwise.

6. The position of the wailing-place of the Jews is perhaps the strongest argument of all in confirmation of our view. The Jews, after the total overthrow of the nation under Barchocab, in the time of Adrian (A.D. 135), were prohibited from planting a foot upon the site of the Temple itself, but they were allowed, on making a small payment, to lament their country's woes round the precincts of the Temple. The custom of wailing has been practised for certainly more than fifteen centuries, as it is mentioned both by the Bordeaux Pilgrim and Eusebius. As the great object of Jewish veneration was the Holy of Holies, we must conclude that they would pour out their laments on the spot, wherever it was, which had the nearest proximity to the Holy of Holies. The wailing-place at present

[a] *Barclay*, 527.

[b] *Bell.* ii. 17, 6; vi. 6, 2.

[c] Τὰς ἱερουργίας. *Ant.* xx. 8, 11.

[d] *Ant.* xx. 8, 11.

(and there is no reason to suppose any change) lies along the western wall of the Haram, beginning at about 300 feet from the south-west corner and reaching along it for about 40 yards. It is manifest, therefore, that as the inner Temple, in which was the Holy of Holies, was not in the middle of the outer Temple, but according to the rabbins considerably more to the north, the spot now frequented by the Jews is exactly that which would be opposite the Holy of Holies, and be the nearest approach to it.

I shall now consider such objections to the site of the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram as appear most deserving of notice, and all of them can, to the best of my judgment, be answered satisfactorily, while to some the replies will serve to further strengthen our position.

(A.) First then it is said, that, by fixing the site of the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram, the Temple is placed upon the lowest part of the Haram, whereas in fact it should stand upon a *mount*. But what authority is there for asserting that it stood upon a mount? I believe none. The notion is attributable to the misunderstanding of a passage in Josephus. He begins one of his chapters thus: "But the Temple was erected, *as I have said*, upon a strong hill" (ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ, *Bell.* v. 5, 1), whence the mistaken idea that the Temple was built upon an isolated eminence. The referential words "as I have said" have not been observed or not been attended to, for on looking back we find that the "hill" or λόφος of which Josephus had been speaking was merely the more eastern of the two ridges on which the city was situate. So far from the Temple having occupied the highest ground, it is particularly noticed by him, to the contrary, that it was overlooked by the Acra,[a] and that those who passed from the Acra to the Temple went down to it,[b] and that Antonia also rose above the Temple,[c] and those who passed from the Temple to Antonia went up to it.[d] No doubt the Acra, which is thus described as towering above the Temple, was afterwards cut down so that the Temple *building* thenceforth was made to overtop it,[e] and hence the inference that the Temple *site* from that time was higher than the Acra *site*. But Josephus states only that the *Temple itself*, *i.e.* the fabric of the

[a] ἐπέκειτο τῷ Ἱερῷ. *Ant.* xii. 9, 3. ὑπερκειμένη τὸ Ἱερόν. *Ant.* xii. 5, 4.

[b] κατίοντι ἐκ τῆς Ἄκρας. *Ant.* xii. 10, 5.

[c] φρούριον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο . . . τῷ Ἱερῷ ἡ Ἀντωνία. *Bell.* v. 5, 8. τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ φρούριον. *Ant.* xiii. 16, 5.

[d] ἀναβαίνοντες. *Ant.* xv. 11, 4.

[e] τῆς Ἄκρας κατεργασάμενοι τὸ ὕψος, ἐποιήσαντο χθαμαλώτερον, ὡς ὑπερφαίνοιτο καὶ ταύτης τὸ Ἱερόν. *Bell.* v. 4, 1.

Temple, was so made higher than the rock of the Acra when thus reduced. It was a great profanation that the sacrifices should be watched by a stranger, and one main object in lowering the height of the Acra was that the outer wall of the Temple should be an effectual screen against espionage.

The only sense in which the Temple could be said to stand upon an eminence is this. The ridge of Moriah slopes from the north-west corner of the Haram in a south-easterly direction to what is called the Triple Gate, about two-thirds along the southern wall of the Haram from the western corner.[a] In order therefore to form the outer court of 600 feet square it was necessary to embank three sides, viz. the south, east, and west, and to cut down the fourth or northern side. The site of the inner Temple in the centre was already a level, as being the threshing-floor of Araunah, but to the north of it, where the ground ascended, it required not to be built up, but to be pared away. All this is what Josephus relates as having been actually done.[b] He even tells us what has only lately become intelligible, viz. that the deepest foundations were laid on the south-west,[c] for it is now known that the ground descends rapidly from the south-eastern corner of the Temple square of 600 feet, in a westerly direction down to the Tyropœon Valley, so that the lowest point was at the south-western corner, while the eastern wall of the Temple would require no other embankment than for raising the southern portion of the eastern wall to a level with the northern portion. In one place only is there anything said which would lead to the inference that the site of the Temple, as regards the natural rock, rose above the level of the outer court, viz. where Josephus speaks of the wall of the inner Temple as hiding the rock ;[d] but, if the Inner Temple was seated on a terrace of natural rock, how could there have been (as there was in fact) just before the commencement of the Great Jewish War a subsidence of thirty feet in the foundations ?[e] for this implies that the terrace on which the Temple stood was artificial. If there were any elevated rock it could only be the rock left in the centre when the south, east, and west sides were filled up and the north side was cut away. Josephus in his more accurate work, The Antiquities, gives us an account, which is the most probable, viz. that Solomon by filling up the hollows within the com-

[a] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 314.

[b] Τειχίσαντες δὲ ἐκ ῥίζης τριχῆ κύκλῳ τὸν λόφον. *Bell.* v. 5, 1. διακόψαντες δὲ τὸ προσάρκτιον τεῖχος τοσοῦτον προσέλαβον, &c. Ibid.

[c] κατὰ λίβα. *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

[d] *Bell.* v. 5, 2; and *see* vi. 5. 1.

[e] *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

pass of the four foundation walls brought up the whole area *to a level with the very summit on which the Temple was built*,[a] and this was no slip of the pen, for in a subsequent part of the same work he repeats the same thing.[b] This exactly tallies with the present state of the ground at the south-west corner of the Haram, and may be assumed as the more accurate representation.

I doubt whether persons may not have caught the idea that the Temple stood on a separate mount from the expressions used by the writer of the Maccabees, "The mount of the House,"[c] and "The mount of the Temple;"[d] and in order to obviate any such error it may be as well to explain what is meant by these passages. When Simon established the independence of the Jews by the capture of the Acra, he "further strengthened the *Mount of the Temple by the side of the Acra and dwelt there*, he and his."[e] In the first place then the mount of the Temple was not the Temple itself, for then Simon could not have inhabited it. Neither was it the Acra, for the mount of the Temple lay *by the side of the Acra*. The only stronghold adjacent to the Acra besides the Temple itself was Antonia, and by the mount of the House is clearly meant the elevated rock, afterwards called Antonia. Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, must have occupied the same palace as his father, and he is said to have resided in the Baris,[f] and Josephus is careful to tell us that this Baris when further improved by Herod was called by him Antonia.[g] Thus, the mountain of the House or of the Temple was that which was occupied by Simon and his successors as their palace, and was the Birch, or in its Greek form the Baris, and afterwards Antonia. Josephus adds, that the Baris was near the Temple;[h] but how far it was from the Temple, and why Simon and his successors rejected the Acra which joined the Temple, and gave a preference to the Baris, which was some way from it, will be fully explained hereafter.

(B.) Another objection is thus taken by Captain Warren: "The portion of the *southern wall* of the Haram to the *west* of the double (or Huldah) Gate is (he says)

[a] ἰσοπέδους (τὰς φάραγγας) τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους, ἐφ' ἧς ὁ ναὸς ᾠκοδόμητο κατεσκεύασε. *Ant.* viii. 3, 9.

[b] τὰ κοῖλα τῶν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐμπλήσας ἰσόπεδον τοῖς κατὼ (not κατὰ), τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τὴν ἄνω καὶ λεῖον ἐποίησε. *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

[c] ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ οἴκου. 1 Macc. iv. 46.

[d] τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Ἱεροῦ τὸ παρὰ τὴν Ἄκραν. 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

[e] οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ. 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

[f] The Hebrew for castle, and identical with the Birch of Nehemiah, ii. 8.

[g] *Ant.* xviii. 4, 3.

[h] πλησίον τῷ Ἱερῷ Βάριν. *Ant.* xviii. 4, 3.

of a different construction to, and more recent than, that to the *east*."[a] The fact here suggested as an objection to placing the Temple at the south-west corner is quite consistent with the history of the Temple. The account of Josephus in The Wars differs somewhat from that in The Antiquities. In The Wars he tells us that Solomon erected only the eastern cloister of the Temple, and that the other sides were built up by means of the Corban or Sacred Treasury in the reigns of the subsequent kings.[b] If this were so, it would account at once for the difference of style observed in the western portion of the wall, which was the work of the subsequent kings. However I do not rely on this explanation, as, in the more mature and accurate history, The Antiquities, Josephus informs us that the entire Temple, with its cloisters, was the work of Solomon,[c] and, assuming this to be so, we have still no difficulty. On the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar the walls of the city and of the Haram, and even of the Temple, were levelled with the ground, the foundations only being left. On the return of the Jews from the captivity the walls of the *Temple* were rebuilt by Ezra and the walls of the *city* by Nehemiah. The tyranny of the Seleucidæ succeeded, and the walls of both city and Temple were again thrown down. In the time of the Maccabees the walls both of the city and of the Temple were restored, but in great haste, and under extraordinary difficulties, and consequently in a rude and uncouth style. Herod, therefore, resolved on rebuilding the Temple, with its cloisters and walls, on a scale of the utmost grandeur, and, instead of a simple colonnade on the south side, he proposed to erect what was afterwards known as the Royal Cloister, consisting of a central nave and two side-aisles. He had now to consider whether the ancient *foundations*, which still remained, were sufficient to carry this immense superstructure; and the result was that from the Triple Gate to the Huldah Gate, that is along the central portion of the southern wall of the 600 feet square, where the descent of the ground was gradual and the rock was only a little below the surface, the original foundations were deemed adequate; but from the Huldah Gate to the south-west corner, or near it, where the declivity was rapid,[d] it was found that the existing foundations would not bear the extra weight. Herod therefore, according to Josephus, *took up* the

[a] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 118. [b] *Bell.* v. 5, 1. [c] *Ant.* viii. 3, 1; xv. 11, 3; xx. 9, 7.

[d] "Towards the west from the Triple Gate the rock falls more gently. At the Double Gate, whose sill is on a level with that of the Triple Gate, it is probably at a depth of 30 feet. It then falls more rapidly to about 90 feet from the south-west angle, where appears to be the bed of the Tyropœon Valley. This point is 90 feet below the sill of the Triple Gate. The rock now rises again rapidly to the west, having risen about 30 feet at the south-west corner." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 119.

foundations, not of the inner Temple only,[a] but also of the outer Temple.[b] The recent explorations accordingly show that the foundations of the eastern wall of the Haram, which were never disturbed, are the work of the Phœnicians employed by Solomon, as attested by their building-marks on the stones and the fragments of their pottery;[c] and the portion of the southern wall from the south-east corner to the Huldah Gate is of the same workmanship as the eastern wall.[d] But from the Huldah Gate to the south-west corner, and from this point northward to the Prophet's Gate in the western wall, the architecture is more recent,[e] and is ascribed by Captain Warren himself to the time of Herod.[f] The fact, therefore, of this difference between the architecture of the eastern portion of the southern wall of the Haram and that at the south-west corner, instead of overturning, serves in reality very strongly to confirm, the hypothesis that the Temple stood at the south-west angle.

The excavations, which have been carried to a great depth at the south-west corner, have disclosed some curious particulars, which show the general truthfulness of Josephus's History, and show incontestably that the Temple stood there. At 23 feet below the present surface was found the pavement used in the time of the Crusades,[g] and at 20 feet below that was the pavement laid down by Herod.[h] Below that the foundation stones, though bevelled, were rough-picked and not smooth-faced,[i] and therefore not intended to be exposed to view. In other words, when Herod relaid the foundations the *débris* of the Tyropœon Valley had risen to this height. Upon this Herodian pavement lay the fallen *voussoirs* of Herod's bridge from the Royal Cloister to the Xyst, which was destroyed by Titus.[k] At 23 feet below this pavement they came upon the *voussoirs* of the bridge constructed by Solomon or one of his successors,[l] viz.

[a] ἀνελὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους θεμελίους. *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

[b] ἃς μὲν (the cloisters of the outer Temple) ἀνῳκοδόμησεν ἐκ θεμελίων. *Bell.* i. 21, 1.

[c] "Found Phœnician characters imprinted on the stamp (on the pottery). One inscription was read by an authority as 'The King.'" *Recovery of Jerusalem*, i. 152. "Mr. Deutsch's discovery of Phœnician characters, similar to those on the walls of Sidon, enables us to ascribe the execution to that race." Ibid. ii 390.

[d] "I found this large course continued to the south-east angle, and thence running north along the east wall for 24 feet. The course is unbroken between the Huldah and Triple Gate. Thence to the single gate there is one stone *in situ*, and, from a point 70 feet from the south-east angle to the angle itself, the course again is in a good state of preservation." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 120.

[e] "It is apparent that this great course did not reach so far as the south-west angle, or, in other words, that the western portion of the wall is of a different construction to the eastern." Ibid. p. 122.

[f] "Herod built the present south-west angle of the sanctuary." Ibid p. 110.

[g] Ibid. p. 123. [h] Ibid. p. 123. [i] Ibid. p. 122.

[k] Ibid. p. 101. [l] Ibid. p. 104.

the bridge which Josephus mentions to have been broken down by Aristobulus when he was besieged in the Temple by Pompey.[a] Immediately under these *voussoirs* was an aqueduct cut in the rock, and running north and south,—the most ancient of all in Jerusalem, and evidently constructed before the foundations at the south-west corner of the Haram were laid, for the aqueduct itself had been diverted, to make room for the great western wall.

(C.) Another objection made to placing the site of the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram is, that, admitting a solid square of 600 feet to exist there, yet the Temple could not have stood upon that spot, inasmuch as the *eastern* wall of this square is found not to be in unison with the foundation walls on the south and west.[b] Now, even if the present eastern wall of the 600 feet square were the ancient wall, it might very well differ in style from the walls on the south and west, just as we have seen that the wall at the south-west corner of the Haram differs from the wall at the south-east corner; for we learn from Josephus that while Herod restored the walls of the Temple generally he made the eastern wall an exception; and the reason is obvious enough from the recent explorations. The ridge or crown of the hill on which the Temple stood travels along the line of the eastern wall of the 600 feet square, shelving down both on the eastern and western sides.[c] The foundation walls therefore on the south and west sides were necessarily laid to an enormous depth, and at the south-west corner to the depth of nearly 90 feet. But on the *east* side of the 600 feet square the wall was laid on the rock itself, which here rises nearly to the surface. The foundations, therefore, of the eastern wall, being based upon the rock at little depth, remained firm and needed no restoration. Indeed, they appear to have continued until the destruction of the city by Titus, for in the year 65 A. D., just before the commencement of the Great Jewish War, fears being entertained lest the Temple treasure if allowed to accumulate would be seized upon by the Romans, the Jews pressed Agrippa the Younger, who had charge of the Temple, to take down and rebuild the *eastern* wall, a remnant of the work of Solomon, but he was alarmed at the propect of so vast an undertaking, and the money was laid out instead in paving the streets of the city.[d] This explains why the eastern cloister was called, *par excellence*, Solomon's

[a] *Ant.* xiv. 4, 2; *Bell* i. 7, 2.

[b] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, page 230.

[c] "The rock which is found within a foot of the site of the Triple Gate shelves down rapidly to the south-east angle, falling 100 feet in 300. Towards the west, from the Triple Gate, the rock falls more gently. &c." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 119.

[d] *Ant.* xx. 9, 7.

Porch, viz. it was the only part where there was any remnant of the old Temple of Solomon. This eastern wall then from its antiquity might well differ in point of style from the southern and western walls, which were restored by Herod.

In fact, however, the old eastern wall of the 600 feet square was long ago demolished to make room for the sweeping changes introduced by Justinian. It is now established that the substructions at the south-east angle of the Haram are comparatively modern,[a] for all the retaining walls round them are modern, and the pillars in the interior could not have stood by themselves. They were the great work of Justinian described by Procopius. The whole south-eastern portion of the Haram was then remodelled, and the eastern wall of the 600 feet square became part of the general plan. All that we could possibly expect to find at the present day would be some faint traces of the old wall, and these we do find. Thus Captain Warren writes: "The remains of engaged columns in the (Triple) gateway and the west wall of a passage appear to show that there was originally a vestibule here somewhat similar to that at the Double (or Huldah) Gate."[b] And at 60 feet more to the north is another remnant of the old wall, "the remains of an engaged column, which is apparently *in situ*."[c] "These remains of engaged columns tend to show that it was a gateway of about the same style as the Double Gate, and as very likely at that time to have exactly corresponded to it in having only two passages"[d] And, what is very remarkable, this passage at the Triple Gate extends up in a northern direction for about the same distance as the passage leading from the Double or Huldah Gate.[e] Thus we have a double passage along the eastern wall, corresponding to the double passage from the Huldah Gate; and, as the latter led up from the Low Town to the southern side of the Temple, we may well infer that the double passage from the Triple Gate led up from the Low Town to the *eastern* gate of the Temple. The Huldah Gate was the gate "at the King's House,"[f] which Josephus renders "the gate leading to the King's House" or palace.[g] And the other gate was "the gate of the foundation."[h]

(D.) Another objection to placing the site of the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram, and which seems to have much influenced Captain Warren's

[a] "All the masonry and arches above the level of the Single and Triple Gates are comparatively modern." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 134; and *see* Remarks, ibid. p. 126.

[b] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 229.

[c] Ibid. p. 230.

[d] Ibid. p. 231.

[e] Ibid. p. 231.

[f] 2 Chron. xxiii. 4.

[g] *Ant.* ix. 7, 2.

[h] 2 Chron. xxiii. 4.

judgment is this: According to Josephus the first wall running up from Siloam joined the *eastern cloister* of the *Temple;* and, as the wall of Ophel has been ascertained to run into the eastern wall of the *Haram*,[a] the inference has been drawn that the Temple must at least have extended to the south-east angle of the Haram.[b] Let us first look to the very words of Josephus in order to make sure of his meaning. He describes the first wall as commencing from the *western cloister of the Temple*, and extending to Hippicus, now the Jaffa Gate, and then running southward to Siloam, and then, "reaching as far as a certain place called Ophlas, it unites itself to the cloister of the Temple *which faces the east*."[c] This has commonly been taken to mean that the first wall running up from the south joined the eastern wall of the Haram in the same straight line, viz. on the south side. But Josephus says nothing of the sort. The language is not that *having* reached Ophlas it *there* joins the eastern cloister, but only that "reaching to a place called Ophlas it unites itself to the cloister *facing the east*." This Ophlas (which, perhaps, gave the name of Ophel to the southern part of the eastern hill,) was some public building which was afterwards burnt by Titus, and though near the Temple was quite distinct from it. There are clearly then two steps to be taken into account, first the reaching to Ophlas, and then the junction to the Temple by a deflection to the west. The southern cloister was the famous Royal Cloister of four rows of columns, viz. a nave and two aisles (the three other cloisters to the west, north, and east having only two rows); and if the first wall had run up to the *southern* cloister, the historian would so have described it. Instead of that, he tells us that on reaching Ophlas it united itself to the cloister which *faced the east*. The wall itself, therefore, must have been running, not from the south, but from the east, *i.e.* on reaching Ophlas it made an angle westward towards the Temple.

This is clearly the meaning from another part of the description, where Josephus speaks of the three walls of the city—the *first*, or "old wall" (ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος, *Bell.* v. 4, 2), and the *second* wall (which ran across the interior of the city from the Jaffa Gate to the Temple, and need not be further noticed), and the *third* wall; and in tracing the outer circuit, he begins with the *first* wall, which, starting from Hippicus on the west, runs round the southern portion of the city up to Ophlas,

[a] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 289.

[b] "The southern side of the Temple must have coincided with the present south wall of the sanctuary, because we find the wall of Ophel coming in at the south-east angle," &c. Ibid. p. 311.

[c] τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοᾷ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ. *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

[d] *Bell.* vi. 6, 3. See *Williams, H. C.* 2nd ed. ii. 365, note.

and thence to the Temple; and he then takes up the third wall, commencing also from Hippicus, and carries it round the northern portion of the city, and then southward until it met the *old wall* (τῷ ἀρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ, *Bell.* v. 4, 3). Now, as Josephus is here defining the *outer* defences, he means that the *third* wall united itself at its termination to the *first* wall, for otherwise there would be left a gap in the outer circuit. But, if the *first* wall ran into the eastern cloister of the Temple at the south-east corner of the Haram, how possibly could the third wall have united itself to the first wall, when the Temple itself intervened? In that case the third wall would have joined the northern cloister of the *Temple*, and not the *old wall*; but if, as we have shown, the first wall ran as far as Ophlas, and then made an angle to the west toward the Temple, all is clear, for then the third wall, coming down from the north, would pass the Temple at a little distance to the east of it, and unite itself to the first wall at Ophlas.

(E.) The next objection is, that, according to Josephus, "the Porch of Solomon in the time of Herod overlooked the Kedron," and therefore must have extended to the east wall of the present Haram.[a] The passages relied upon for this statement are two. In the first of them Josephus, speaking of the Royal Cloister at the south, describes it as reaching "from the western to the eastern ravine, for it was not possible to extend it farther."[b] All therefore that is here asserted is, that the cloister reached the point where began the descent into the Cedron Valley, and, if the ground were restored to its original state, it could not be disputed that the fall of the Cedron Ravine commences from the eastern wall of the Temple square of 600 feet. Take away the substructions erected by Justinian many ages afterwards (now the Stables of Solomon), and then the eastern wall of the Temple square of 600 feet stands on the very brink of the ravine, for precisely from the eastern end of the square of 600 feet begins the precipitous declivity. "The Rock of Moriah," says Captain Warren, "which is found within a foot of the Triple Gate (the eastern end of the square of 600 feet), shelves down rapidly to the south-east angle, falling over 100 feet in 300."[c] Thus a person standing on the roof of the Royal Cloister, whether he looked south, east, or west, would, by the combined effect of the height of the cloister and the depth of the fall of ground below, find his eyes swim with the sight.[d] If any doubt

[a] "Josephus tells us that the Porch of Solomon, in the time of Herod, overlooked the Kedron," &c. *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 317.

[b] διϊοῦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑῴας φάραγγος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέριον, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκτεῖναι προσωτέρω δυνατόν. *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

[c] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 119.

[d] *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

could remain as to the historian's meaning, it would be removed by the next passage, which speaks of the prospect from the *northern* end of the eastern cloister; for we must conclude that the northern and southern ends of the eastern cloister both overlooked the same ravine, so that, if the northern did not impend over the Cedron, then neither did the southern. The passage referred to is this: in the progress of the siege by Titus the Romans set fire to the northern cloister, and the whole was burnt "as far as the eastern cloister," where the angle of junction was built over the *so-called Cedron Ravine.*[a] Here the eastern cloister is expressly stated to impend over the "so-called Cedron Ravine," that is, the ravine so called, but not really such, for, when Josephus refers to the great valley of the Cedron at the east of the city,[b] he designates it as

[a] Την βόρειον στοὰν ἐνέπρησαν μέχρι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ὕλην, ὧν ἡ συναπτούσα γωνία τῆς Κεδρῶνος καλουμένης φάραγγος ὑπερδεδόμητο. *Bell.* vi. 3, 2.

[b] The Cedron is here called, somewhat irregularly, a *valley*, but in perusing the Old Testament it must be remembered that the two valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat are invariably distinguished. The valley of Hinnom is always referred to as גַּיְא (valley), and the Valley of Jehoshaphat as נַחַל (torrent), and so in the New Testament the Cedron is called the Torrent (τοῦ χειμάῤῥου τῶν Κέδρων). *John* xviii. 1. This distinction is often important as determining localities. Thus Nehemiah went out by the Valley Gate (שַׁעַר הַגַּיְא), we know, therefore, that he went down the Valley of *Hinnom*. *Nehem.* ii. 13. On the other hand the Fountain of Gihon was in the Torrent (בַּנַּחַל), and, therefore, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. 2 *Chron.* xxxiii. 14. Gihon was thus the Fountain of the Virgin. Thus Hezekiah "stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the *west side* of the city of David." 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 30. The city of David was certainly the eastern hill, and the water of the Fountain of the Virgin runs to this day by the cut of Hezekiah from the eastern side of the hill to Siloam at the foot of the western side. These two fountains were formerly the upper and lower Gihon, but the name of Gihon has perished, and the Upper Gihon, now the Fountain of the Virgin, was in the time of Josephus the Pool of Solomon (who was anointed king there), and the Lower Gihon was the Pool of Siloam. The passage above referred to in *Chron.* xxxiii. 14, has been translated "and (Manasseh) built a wall without the city of David on the west side of Gihon, in the valley even to *the entering in at the Fish Gate.*" But Gihon was not near the Fish Gate, and the words should be translated "on the west side of Gihon in the valley, *and* at the entering in at the Fish Gate." This is the text both in the Hebrew and in the Septuagint.

Captain Warren has come to the conclusion that the Cedron is the veritable Valley of *Hinnom*. But the idea is untenable. The very first mention of the Valley of Hinnom (*Josh.* xv. 8) amounts to a confutation. Thus the northern border of the tribe of Judah is traced from the mouth of the Jordan westward, "and the goings out thereof (or termination) were at *Enrogel*, and the border went up by the valley of the Son of Hinnom unto the south side of the Jebusite. The same is Jerusalem" *Josh.* xv. 8. Enrogel was at the King's Gardens below Siloam, *Ant.* ix. 10, 4 (where Ἐρωγή (Enrogel) is placed at the King's Gardens, παραδείσους τοὺς βασιλικούς); and compare 1 *Kings* i. 9, with *Ant.* vii 14, 4. Afterwards, in an inverse order, the southern border of the tribe of Benjamin is traced as "descending to the Valley of Hinnom to the side of Jebus on the *south*, and descending to Enrogel." *Josh.* xviii. 16. These passages show clearly that the boundary line between the two tribes ran along the Valley of Hinnom at the south of

the Cedron simply;[a] but the *so-called Cedron* was a little slip of ground which was quite distinct. We can make this plain by another extract from the same work. In explaining how the *city* when besieged by Titus was divided between the two factions of Simon and John, he writes that Simon held the High Town and the greater part of the Low Town, and that John held the Temple "and the parts about it, both Ophlas and the *so-called Cedron Ravine*."[b] Josephus is here speaking of the *interior* of the city exclusively, for, of course, all the exterior was in the hands of the Romans. The *so-called* Cedron Ravine was, therefore, within the walls, and it was next the Temple. It could not be on the north, for there was an ascent and not a fall, nor on the west, for there was the Tyropœon Valley, nor on the south, for there was Ophlas. It was, therefore, clearly and incontestably on the east, and was the intramural hollow between the eastern wall of the Temple and the eastern wall of the city. It was this hollow or slope which was overlooked by the northern end of the eastern cloister, and, consequently, overlooked also by the southern end. It follows, of course, that the Temple did not extend to the eastern wall of the present Haram, but only to the *so-called Cedron* Ravine, which lay between it and the eastern wall of the Haram.

The Site of Antonia.

The Temple and Antonia are so blended together that the site of the one being known that of the other must follow. If the Temple be admitted to stand at the south-west corner of the Haram, Antonia must be placed at the north-west corner; and if Antonia be placed at the north-west corner, the Temple must

Jebus, or, in other words, that the Valley of Hinnom lay to the south and not to the east of the city. All Jerusalem was therefore in the tribe of Benjamin, and the portion of this tribe was the smallest, because, says Josephus, it comprised the two leading cities of Jerusalem and Jericho. Ἱεριχῶντα γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἔλαβον. *Ant.* v. 1, 22. Captain Warren has allowed himself to be misled by the mistranslation of our Bible, "go forth into the valley of the Son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the *East* Gate." *Jerem.* xix. 2. But the word הַחַרְסוּת is derived not from חֶרֶם (sol), and so meaning the *east*, but from חֶרֶשׂ (testa), and signifies the Pottery Gate, which was in the south wall and opposite the Potters' Field. Gesenius and Simon and all the best authorities agree that is the true rendering. The Cedron or Eastern valley was the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and it is so called by Eusebius about A.D. 300. (Onomast. Κοιλάς): and by Antoninus Martyr (c. 24) about A.D. 600; and has borne the same name down to the present day.

[a] *Ant.* viii. 1, 5; ix. 7, 3. *Bell.* v. 2, 3; 7, 3; 12, 2. This distinction between the Cedron simply and the Cedron ravine so called was first pointed out by the author.

[b] τό τε ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἐπ' οὐκ ὀλίγον, τόν τε Ὀφλᾶν καὶ τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα. *Bell.* v. 6, 1; and see *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

stand at the south-west corner. To prove this we must descend to details. It was long supposed that Antonia immediately adjoined the Temple; but the error was exposed in the author's *Siege of Jerusalem*, and the mistake is now admitted. Antonia is described by Josephus as "near to the Temple;"[a] and not very near, for when Titus had taken Antonia it still cost him seven days' labour to make his approaches to the Temple itself.[b] The junction between Antonia and the Temple was effected by two parallel cloisters called limbs or legs, which, starting from the north-west corner of the Temple, ran in a northern direction.[c] The western of the two connecting cloisters was actually a continuation of the *western cloister of the Temple*.[d] If, therefore, we can ascertain the length of these connecting cloisters we shall know also where Antonia commenced.[e] This we can elicit from an accidental notice by Josephus, viz. that the cloisters which inclosed the original square of the Temple were four *stadia*, but that with the addition of the two connecting cloisters they were six *stadia*.[f] The two connecting cloisters were, therefore, a *stadium* or 600 feet each. As Antonia was defended on all sides by a fosse, which was probably crossed by a drawbridge, the termination of the connecting cloisters at the northern end must have been at the fosse; and so precisely we find it, for at the distance of just 600 feet from the northern wall of the Temple of 600 feet square has been discovered the fosse itself, running east and west. It is excavated on the south side from the native rock, but the breadth towards the north still remains to be ascertained. The cutting has been followed for about 70 feet from east to west, and no doubt it runs the whole 600 feet across the Haram.[g] Where, then, was the *eastern* fosse? for if we can find this also we shall know the dimensions of the fortress. The Temple was an exact *square*, but Antonia is not so described, but only as *rectangular*.[h] The eastern fosse would, like the southern, be in a straight line, and lie north and south, and it is probably the *souterrain* or cutting discovered at the western end of the Pool of Bethesda, and running off southwards. The account of Captain Warren is as follows: "The

[a] πλησίον τῷ Ἱερῷ. *Ant.* xviii. 4. 3.

[b] *Bell.* vi. 2, 7; *see* vi. 2, 1. [c] Ibid. v. 5, 8.

[d] This I take to be the meaning of the passage: τῆς γὰρ καὶ κατὰ δύσιν στοᾶς τὸ συνεχὲς πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν. Ibid. vi. 2, 9.

[e] I once thought it possible that these connecting cloisters, which increased the cloisters of the Temple from four *stadia* to six *stadia*, might have run *round* Antonia either on the exterior or interior. But clearly the cloisters abutted upon the castle, for there were stairs from the castle down to the roof of the cloisters, καθὰ δὲ συνῆπτο ταῖς τοῦ Ἱεροῦ στοαῖς εἰς ἀμφοτέρας εἶχε καταβάσεις. Ibid. v. 5, 8.

[f] Ibid. v. 5, 2.

[g] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 219. [h] Ἐγγώνιος. *Ant.* xv. 11, 4.

substructure, now used as a tank, is 63 feet from north to south, and 57 feet from east to west, thus being nearly square. Its northern wall is 23 feet 6 inches from the south side of Birket Israel (Pool of Bethesda).[a] There is an opening on the northern side (of the *souterrain*) about two feet in height and one foot wide, on a level with the top of the cement, which lets in light, and on examining the Birket Israel (Pool of Bethesda) I find a grating in the south wall two feet square, exactly opposite the opening in the substructure, and which undoubtedly communicates with it, but whether directly through the thickness of the wall or whether through another chamber in the wall has yet to be determined.[b] These vaults are unlike any known tanks in Jerusalem, and very different from the substructions at the south-east angle of the Haram area. I do not think that such a structure as this was built for a tank, and if it was simply built to support the present surface there is probably *more of it* to be found to the south-east."[c] This *souterrain* has been traced from the Pool of Bethesda, about 86 feet southward, viz. 23 feet from the grating in the Pool of Bethesda and 63 feet in the *souterrain* itself, and there is a strong probability that it once continued southward until it joined the *souterrain* which formed the southern fosse, for both these *souterrains* resemble each other, as both of them consist of a series of arched bays or blind arches, those in the southern fosse being excavated from the solid rock and those in the eastern fosse being constructed of masonry.[d] The transformation of the original fosses into these vaults appears to have been the work of the Saracens.[e]

We may or may not be right as to the precise limits of Antonia on the south and east sides, as defined by these two *souterrains* on the south and east; but we cannot be wrong in regarding Antonia as occupying the *rock* at the *north-west*

[a] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 211. [b] Ibid. p. 213.

[c] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 213. Captain Warren adds, "On lighting up the magnesian wire and looking about me I was astonished, my first impression being that I had got into a church." Ibid. p. 210. And so he had, as the following explanation will show. This *souterrain* consists, according to Captain Warren's plan, of three arched passages running parallel to each other towards the Pool of Bethesda, and no doubt formerly communicating with it. From the same pool, at the western end, ran out two other parallel arched passages, and which are proved to have been porches, for Captain Warren observes with respect to them that "the floor has a slope towards the entrance (to Bethesda) where there are four stone steps 16 inches broad and 7 inches in height. The bottom step is nearly flush with the west wall of the pool. The Birket Israel (Bethesda) never extended further to the west than its present limit at its present depth." Ibid. p. 194. We have thus the five porches spoken of in John's Gospel; and in one of them, in the time of Antoninus Martyr, was the *church* of Saint Mary: "Venimus ad piscinam natatoriam quæ quinque porticus habet et in una earum est basilica Sanctæ Mariæ." *Anton. Mart.* c. 27.

[d] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 211 and p. 219. [e] Ibid. p. 220.

corner of the Haram. The fortress, according to Josephus, was erected upon a rock 50 cubits or 75 feet high and precipitous on all sides.[a] The only rock on the Haram that will at all answer this description is that at the north-west corner. We have seen that on the south and east sides are two *souterrains* apparently the fosses, the breadth and depth of which remain to be ascertained; and on the west of the rock is the Asmonean or Mill Valley; and on the north we can trace the depth to nearly the extent stated by Josephus. Thus, the rock rises in the interior 35 feet above the level of the Haram.[b] And on the exterior to the north it was discovered in the course of excavations made in 1836 that the ground was artificial to the depth from 26 to 30 feet.[c] The rock, therefore, is isolated and shelving on all sides, and on one side at least has been cut away for 35 feet above the present level, and from 26 to 30 feet below the present level, making together 65 feet, which is within 10 feet of the 75 feet mentioned by Josephus.

If further proof were needed, we have it in the account of Titus's first assault upon Antonia. A bank was cast up against Antonia by the fifth legion at the middle of the pool called the Struthion.[d] As the object of the bank was to reach the top of the wall of Antonia it seems strange that Titus should have commenced the work in the middle of a pool. But this can now be explained. The Struthion pool has been found, not on the north or on the west side of this part of the Haram, but in a slanting position exactly at the north-west corner. It runs from north-west to south-east, and abuts upon the rock at the north-west angle of the Haram. It is 165 feet long and 50 feet wide, and is divided down the middle by a wall of partition, with arches on each side which form two parallel *souterrains* resembling the double passage at the Huldah Gate.[e] At the southern end is a stair leading up to Antonia, which was probably for drawing water.[f] The bank of Titus therefore was not begun in a hollow at all, but upon the arches which inclosed the pool, and which consequently rather presented a 'vantage ground. The bank would not exceed 25 feet in breadth at the most, and would thus occupy

[a] *Bell.* v. 5, 8.

[b] *Pierotti*, p. 63.

[c] *Pierotti*, p. 20; and see *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 94 and 195.

[d] Κατὰ μέσον τῆς Στρουθίου καλουμένης κολυμβήθρας. *Bell.* v. 11, 4.

[e] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 198 *et seq.*

[f] These parallel pools are the *piscinæ gemellares* referred to by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, A.D. 333, and are the *aquæ putridæ* of Antoninus Martyr. "Exinde venimus ad arcum (arch of Ecce Homo) ubi antiqua porta fuit civitatis. In ipso loco sunt aquæ putridæ, in quas missus est Jeremias." *Anton. Mart.* c. xxiv.

about one-half of the southern end of the pool, which was 50 feet wide. The reason why this spot was selected is obvious enough. Had the bank advanced at right angles to the wall either on the north or west sides the shot of the besieged would have been launched direct, but as the pool was at the very corner the shot from the wall would only reach the Romans obliquely.

The position of Antonia at the north-west corner of the Haram, and the peculiar connection between it and the Temple by means of the intervening cloisters, enables us to appreciate the full force of two passages in Josephus which have hitherto presented a difficulty. The first is this:—During the siege by Titus there was a prophecy current that when the Temple became a *square* the city and sanctuary would fall; and this came to pass, says Josephus, when Antonia fell into the hands of the Romans.[a] The meaning, no doubt, is this. Until the time of Herod the Temple had been a simple square of 600 feet; but when Herod carried out the two parallel cloisters from the north-west corner of the Temple to Fort Antonia, so as to incorporate Antonia itself, both the connecting cloisters and Antonia were regarded as parts of the Temple, which as thus enlarged was of an irregular figure, comprising, 1. the original square of 600 feet at the south; 2. the long slip inclosed between the connecting cloisters; and 3. the rectangular area of Antonia on the north. But on the capture of Antonia by the Romans the two parallel cloisters were burnt, and thus the Temple was again cut off from Antonia, and reduced once more to the original square, by which the prophecy was fulfilled.

The other passage referred to is this:—"Herod," says Josephus, "both repaired the Temple itself and walled round the space about it, so as to make the area *double* of what it was before, employing infinite expense and unsurpassed munificence, and the proofs of it are the *cloisters* round the *Temple* and the *castle* on the north (Antonia); for the former he rebuilt from the foundations, and the latter he repaired at a prodigious cost."[b] It is here implied that the sacred area, by the incorporation of Antonia, was double of what it had been, and the statement is quite correct. The original Temple, as it was a square of 600 feet, would contain 360,000 square feet. The cloisters running between the Temple and the southern fosse of Antonia, recently discovered, were 600 feet long, and they are described by Josephus as near to each other, but it is not said how near. But we can form some judgment as to this; for when Titus had captured Antonia he cast up three mounds against the northern wall of the Temple, and all of these

[a] *Bell.* vi. 5, 2.

[b] Ibid. i. 21, 1.

must, from the nature of the case, have been to the *east* of the two parallel cloisters. But the most *westerly* of the three mounds was due north of the north-west corner of the *inner* Temple,[a] which was not far from the western wall of the outer Temple, and therefore the most eastern of the two parallel cloisters could not have been far from the western wall of the outer Temple. Again, no one can read the account of the desperate struggle of the Romans when in possession of Antonia to force their way along the connecting cloisters into the Temple,[b] without being convinced that the connecting cloisters were on the same level as the Temple. The distance of the *western wall of the Haram* from the *inner plateau* on which stands the Mosque of Omar is about 100 feet, and, assuming the eastern of the two connecting cloisters to have rested against the western side of the plateau, the space inclosed between the two connecting cloisters would be 600 feet by 100 feet, *i.e.* 60,000 feet. Again, from the northern end of the connecting cloisters, 600 feet long, where the fosse of the fortress of Antonia commenced, to the southern end of the Struthion Pool, which abutted on the northern wall of Antonia,[c] is about 500 feet, and from the western wall of the Haram to the supposed eastern fosse of Antonia is about 600 feet, which, multiplied by the 500 feet, gives 300,000 square feet; and adding the area of the connecting cloisters, viz. 60,000 feet, to the area of Antonia itself, viz. 300,000 feet, we have just the area of the Temple as it originally stood, viz. 360,000 feet. Thus, in a general way, the incorporation of Antonia doubled the area of the Temple.

The Site of the Acra.

The site of the Acra has been contested as warmly as that of the Temple, with this distinction, that by common consent the Temple stood somewhere within the four corners of the Haram, but as regards the Acra it has been disputed, not only whether it was situate on the Haram, and if so, on what part, but whether it stood on the eastern ridge of Jerusalem at all. Captain Warren seems to have arrived at the conclusion that it occupied the lower part of the *western* hill near the centre of the quarter inclosed by the second wall,[d] a theory which in the author's judgment cannot be supported.

Where there is so much variance of opinion it will be necessary to lay a solid foundation, and I shall therefore begin with a general sketch of the four hills

[a] *Bell.* vi. 2, 7. [b] Ibid. vi. 1, 8.

[c] "The northern escarped face of Antonia is 10 feet from the Via Dolorosa." Wilson's *Notes*, p. 30.

[d] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 303.

of Jerusalem as laid down by Josephus, a description which will be found to have a material bearing upon the site of the Acra. Jerusalem, according to the great Jewish authority, spread itself successively over four hills. The *first* was anciently known as Jebus, and in the time of Josephus was called the Castle (φρούριον) or Upper Market or High Town. When the Bordeaux Pilgrim was there at the beginning of the fourth century, this hill passed, as it still does, by the name of Sion. It had one peculiar feature which earmarks it, and was the cause of its original prosperity, viz. it was defended on *all* sides by ravines. It is said by Josephus to have been of a regular shape, and was in fact a kind of parallelogram. On the north and east ran the Tyropœon Valley, rather shallow at its commencement at the Jaffa Gate, but deepening as it wound its way along the northern and eastern sides of Jebus down to Siloam. On the west and south was the formidable ravine of the Valley of Hinnom. At the northern side the valley is still distinctly visible from the roof of the Serai, but has otherwise almost disappeared from the accumulation of rubbish, and on this account its existence even, until recently, was repeatedly denied. The Palestine explorations, however, have set the question at rest, and the course of a valley along the northern side of Sion is now an established fact.[a]

The *second* hill described by Josephus was that occupied by the *Low Town*, and was divided from the High Town by the Tyropœon, which is expressly stated by Josephus to have run down to Siloam.[b] There can be no doubt therefore of the relative position of these two hills, as they were divided by the valley which descended from north to south, and terminated at Siloam, the site of which is universally admitted. The reason why these two hills were called respectively the High Town and Low Town is obvious enough to one who looks at them from the south, as from the Hill of Evil Council; for thence the eastern hill is seen to lie at a much lower level than the western. The boundary of the second hill which supported the Low Town, was, on the *north*, the great trench, now called the Pool of Bethesda, which separated it from the *fourth* hill on the north.[c] The *second* hill or Low Town therefore extended from Siloam on the south in a northern direction beyond the limits of the *first* hill or *High* Town, which did not reach beyond the boundary of its own northern wall, called the First Wall, which ran due east from the Castle at the Jaffa Gate to the western cloister of the Temple.

[a] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 268. The author had adduced proofs of this long previously in the paper, Archæologia, xli. 116, where will be found a plan of the city, to which the reader is referred for better understanding the description which here follows.

[b] *Bell.* v. 4, 1.

[c] *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

The *third* hill, says Josephus, was *opposite* (ἀντικρὺ) to the second hill, *i.e.* was to the west of the second hill. Just as he speaks of the whole city as *opposite* (ἀντικρὺ) to the Temple, *i.e.* to the west of it.[a] The third hill had been originally divided from the second hill by another *broad* ravine (ἄλλη πλατείᾳ φάραγγι); but the Maccabees, from a desire to connect the streets of the city on the *third* hill with the Temple on the *second* hill, filled up or nearly so the intervening valley.[b]

We have here to remark, First, that the ravine which originally separated the third hill from the second is described as *another* valley, and therefore it was not the Tyropœon before referred to as separating the first hill from the second hill. Secondly. The object of filling up the valley was to connect the *streets* of the city with the Temple, and, as the Temple was certainly on the eastern hill and the streets were certainly to the west of the Temple, the valley in question could only have been that which is now known as the Asmonean or Mill Valley.

Originally the third hill had been bounded on the *west* by a deep trench or hollow (either natural or artificial), which still remains, and runs in the line of the bazaars, the *roofs* of which are only on a level with the surface of the adjoining ground both east and west. In the time of Hezekiah however, "who built another wall without,"[c] the Pool of Hezekiah was also brought by him within the second wall, by carrying a wall like an elbow from the north side of the first wall round the Pool of Hezekiah to the west side of the second wall.[d]

The *fourth* hill, called Bezetha or Cænopolis, or New Town, lay to the north of the *second* hill, and was divided from it by the deep cutting now called the Pool of Bethesda. This fourth hill had not been inclosed by any wall up to the time of the Crucifixion; but as the population, which naturally clustered about the Temple, continually grew in that direction, King Agrippa in A.D. 43 *commenced* a wall which inclosed the fourth hill, and comprised also a considerable tract to the west of the Asmonean or Mill Valley, which had been excluded from the second wall. Josephus in his description of the city takes little notice of that part of Bezetha which lay to the west of the Asmonean or Mill Valley as it was very little inhabited.[e] The third wall, which was begun by Agrippa, A.D. 43, was not completed until many years afterwards, viz. in the course of the Jewish war, sometime between A.D. 66 and A.D. 70.

[a] ἀντικρὺ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἔκειτο τοῦ Ἱεροῦ. *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

[b] τοῦτο δὲ ἀντικρὺ τρίτος ἦν λόφος, ταπεινότερός τε φύσει τῆς Ἄκρας, καὶ πλατείᾳ φάραγγι, διεργόμενος ἄλλῃ πρότερον .... συνάψαι βουλόμενοι τῷ Ἱερῷ τὴν πόλιν. *Bell.* v. 4, 1. ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἔχωσαν τὰς φάραγγας ἀνισοῦν βουλόμενοι τοὺς στεινωποὺς τοῦ ἄστεως. Ibid. v. 5, 1.

[c] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. [d] *See Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*, p. 284. [e] *Bell.* v. 6. 2.

Now comes the question, On which of these hills was seated the Macedonian fortress called "The Acra?" Was it on the third hill, as Captain Warren suggests,[a] or on the second hill, as I hope to prove? Its position, according to Captain Warren's theory, on the *third* hill, is open to the following several objections.

The Acra was said to *overhang* the *Temple*,[b] but if seated on the third hill it would be divided from the Temple by the *broad* ravine mentioned by Josephus now the Asmonean or Mill Valley. Again, the Acra, according to the Maccabees, lay alongside of the Baris, afterwards Fort Antonia, but which could not be the case if it was separated from it by this broad ravine.[c] Again, the Acra was called by the Maccabees the City of David (1 *Maccabees*, i. 33), as being situate *in* the City of David; but the third hill was never comprised under the name of the City of David, which unquestionably lay on the second or eastern hill. And, again, the Acra, according to Josephus, was erected in the Low Town;[d] but no single instance can be produced in which Josephus speaks of the *third hill* as part of the Low Town.[e] There can be no doubt that the quarter of the city called the Acra was so named from the Macedonian Acra erected upon it, and we have the repeated testimony of Josephus that the eastern hill which supported the Low Town was called the Acra.[f] We may conclude there-

[a] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 303.

[b] *ἐπέκειτο γὰρ τῷ Ἱερῷ ἡ Ἄκρα. Ant.* xii. 9, 3. *ὑπερκειμένη τὸ Ἱερόν.* Ibid. xii. 5, 4. *κατίοντι ἐκ τῆς Ἄκρας εἰς τὸ Ἱερόν. Ant.* xii. 10, 5. 1 Macc. vii. 33.

[c] *τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Ἱεροῦ* (the Baris or Antonia) *τὸ παρὰ τὴν Ἄκραν.* 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

[d] *ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει. Ant.* xii. 5, 4.

[e] It may be suggested that Josephus applied the expression Low Town to the third hill, where he speaks of the four towers erected by John at the four corners of the Temple, viz. one at the north-east corner, another at the south-west corner, a third over against the Low Town, and the fourth over the *παστοφόρια*, whence the priest proclaimed, by the sound of trumpet, the commencement and end of the Sabbath. *Bell.* iv. 9, 12. But I am satisfied that the *παστοφόρια* were at the north-west corner, which was in the direction of the main part of the city; and consequently the *other* corner, which was over against the Low Town, would be at the south-east corner of the Temple which overlooked the Eastern Hill, which was the Low Town. The *παστοφόρια* would thus be at the gate leading from the northern cloister, and the writer of the Maccabees connects the *παστοφόρια* with the gates *τὰς πύλας καὶ τὰ παστοφόρια* (1 *Maccabees*, iv. 57); but there was no gate at the south-east corner of the Temple.

[f] *Ἄτερος δὲ* (the second hill) *ὁ καλούμενος Ἄκρα καὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὑφεστώς. Bell.* v. 9, 1. *τρεψάμενοι τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐκ τῆς κάτω πόλεως τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Σιλωὰμ πάντα ἐνέπρησαν.* Ibid. vi. 7, 2. *τῶν Ἑλένης βασιλείων, ἃ δὴ κατὰ μέσην τὴν Ἄκραν ἦν.* Ibid. vi. 6, 3. *ἐκβαλὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως συνωθεῖ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν κάτω· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ ἄστεως τὸ μέρος Ἄκρα κέκληται,* &c. Ibid. i. 1, 4.

fore that the Acra, at all events, stood on some part of the eastern hill, *i. e.* somewhere between the Pool of Siloam on the south and the Pool of Bethesda on the north. As the Acra was above the Temple, and overhung it, and as the second hill descends in a regular slope from Bethesda to Siloam, we must look for the Acra to the *north* of the Temple. And, again, the Acra lay *alongside* of the Baris or Antonia, and, as to the east of Antonia was the descent into the valley of the Cedron, and on the west was the Asmonean or Mill Valley, we are driven to the conclusion that the Acra lay on the north of the Temple, between it and Antonia, and here accordingly we find it. We know that the Acra was a first class garrison, and, therefore, covered a considerable space. We know also that it stood upon a rock, but which had been partially cut down by Simon so as no longer to overlook the Temple. Now between the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram and Antonia at the north-west corner of the Haram rises the inner plateau, a rock 550 feet long by 450 feet broad and about 15 feet high. Here, then, we have unmistakeably the base of the rock on which the Acra once stood. It must, before it was cut down, have overhung the Temple, and was next the Baris or Antonia, and stands in the City of David[a] and in the Low Town, and thus answers all the requisites.

The reader has probably often asked himself, as I have often asked myself, such questions as the following: If this site was so advantageous for the Macedonians when they erected the Acra, why had it not been occupied as a fortress by the Jews long before? Again, when Simon the Maccabee captured the Acra, why did he not continue it as a stronghold, instead of cutting down the Acra and then fortifying the mount of the Temple, that is, the Baris at the north-west corner of the Haram which was much further from the Temple? Again, when Simon cut down the Acra, why did he leave the square block of rock, now the Sakhra, in the middle of it? Again, when Herod found it necessary to overawe the Temple by a garrison in its immediate vicinity, why did not he adopt the Sakhra, which adjoined the Temple, rather than enlarge the Baris or Antonia at the north-west corner of the Haram, and incur the expense of erecting two parallel cloisters for the purpose of bringing the Temple within the grasp of Antonia, when a site immediately adjoining the Temple was ready at hand? Why, when Jerusalem

[a] Nehemiah, in tracing the procession along the southern wall from west to east, says they went up by the stairs of the City of David. *Nehemiah*, xii. 37. And, again, Hezekiah brought the water from the Fountain of the Virgin, on the east side of the second hill, to Siloam, on "the west side of the City of David," *i. e.* on the second hill. 2 *Chronicles*, xxxii. 30. The City of David, therefore, was the Eastern Hill.

was taken by Titus, did the Romans construct a Temple to Jupiter, now represented by the Mosque of Omar, on the very spot which the Jews had so carefully avoided? The same key will be found to solve all these difficulties; but for a full and satisfactory explanation we must commence from the very earliest period.

The platform now called the Haram was formed by Solomon under the name of Millo, or the "Embankment." The workmen employed were Tyrians, and their marks have been discovered by the recent excavations all along the eastern wall from the north-east corner down to the south-east corner,[a] and the same style of architecture extends along the southern side in a western direction from the south-east corner to the Huldah Gate, two-thirds of the way along the southern wall. The Palace of Solomon stood just below that part of the Haram or Millo which was occupied by the Temple,—that is, just below the south-west corner of the Haram; and, being thus immediately south of Millo and next it, was called Beth-Millo, or the House of Millo. To the east of the palace, partly below Millo and partly within it, were the Stables of Solomon, whence the eastern gate of the city in that part was called the *Horse* Gate, and the adjoining prison was called the *Hippodrome*, or Horsecourse.

The *Royal* or *King's* Gardens were below Siloam, at the confluence of the two valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat; but, besides these, mention is made of the Garden of Uzza,[b] which is also referred to as the Garden of the King's House or Palace.[c] The Garden of Uzza was thus the home garden, and consequently in the immediate vicinity of the palace; but it was not on Ophel, which is shown by the recent explorations to have been densely populated, and is crossed and re-crossed on all sides by ancient walls. Millo and Bethmillo, and the gardens attached, were parts of one great design; and we should place the home garden, or Garden of Uzza, in Millo itself, just above the Stables of Solomon, on the east side. A garden in the East implies a constant supply of water, and all the eastern portion of the Haram is honeycombed with tanks. Indeed we know that this part of

[a] "The present east wall of the sanctuary has Phœnician characters on it, and has all the appearance of being a portion of the oldest work, so that if if it were not Solomonic it would have formed part of the old wall spoken of by Josephus, which I suppose to have been the work of the Kings of Judah." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 317. "At both the north-east and south-east angle characters in paint have been found at the foot of the walls, which are pronounced by *savans* to be Phœnician." Ibid. p. 318; and see the pottery described at p. 152. It is also to be noted that there is no depth of *débris* at the foot of the wall to the north of the Haram; that is, the Haram wall is very ancient, but the wall to the north of it is comparatively modern. The wall of Agrippa, therefore, or third wall, commenced from the Haram.

[b] 2 Kings, xxi. 18, 26.

[c] 2 Kings, xxi. 18.

the area was from the earliest times planted with olive-trees and shrubs,[a] and is so still.

To the *west* of the Garden of Uzza, and just *north* of the Temple, rose a bare rock which never could have been cultivated, but was admirably adapted for the excavation of sepulchres according to the Jewish fashion. It lay next the Temple, and was highly reverenced. And we read that Manasses, a King of Israel, was buried in the garden of his own house in the Garden of Uzza;[c] and that his son Amon was also buried "in his sepulchre in the Garden of Uzza."[d] Both of them, unrestrained by any scruples of conscience, had probably in their lifetime prepared their own tombs, as was a common practice amongst the Jews.

It is to these interments that the prophet Ezekiel alludes in the following passage, which well deserves attention. "My holy name shall the house of Israel no more defile, neither they nor *their kings* by their whoredom, nor *by the carcases of their kings* in their high places; in their setting of *their threshold by my thresholds and their posts by my posts and the wall between me and them.* They have even defiled my holy name by their abominations that they have committed; wherefore I have consumed them in mine anger. Now let them put away their whoredom and the *carcases of their kings far from me*, and I will dwell in the midst of them for ever."[e] The prophet here is evidently inveighing against the pollution of the sanctuary by the interment of the carcases of kings next to the Holy Temple, which would be the case if Manasses and Amon were buried on the spot assigned to their sepulchres. But, further, these interments are spoken of as in the "*high places.*" Now on three sides of the Temple, viz. the south, east, and west, was a rapid declivity. The sepulchres complained of therefore must have been on the north, *i. e.* excavated in the rock, now the Sakhra, in the centre of the Haram. The bodies of Manasses and Amon alone would satisfy the words of Ezekiel, but it is not impossible that other kings also (not however David and Solomon)[f] were interred in the same locality, for they are

[a] Mejr-ed-din. Williams's *Holy City*, vol. i. Supplement, p. 150.

[b] Williams's *Holy City*, ii. 298.

[c] 2 Kings xxi. 18. [d] 2 Kings xxi. 26. [e] Ezek. xliii. 7.

[f] David and Solomon were both interred in the same mausoleum. *Ant.* xvi. 7, 1. The traditional tomb of David is on Sion, the south-west hill, the ancient Jebus. But this cannot be, for Nehemiah in tracing the line of the wall along the south of the city from west to east enumerates in order, "the gate of the fountain" and "the wall of the Pool of Siloah by the king's garden and unto the stairs that go down (to the fountain) from the city of David," and then "the place over against the sepulchres of David and unto the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty." Nehem. iii. 15. Thus the place over against the

said to have been buried "in the city of David,"[a] and even "at Jerusalem in the city of David;"[b] and it is certain that, on the capture of Jerusalem by David, the eastern hill, as opposed to Jebus on the western hill, was called the city of David.[c] In the time of the Maccabees the "city of David" had a more contracted meaning still, and the very rock which then supported the Macedonian Acra was called *par excellence* the city of David. According to the Book of Maccabees therefore, the royal interments, if made in the city of David, would be in the Sakhra itself.

What became of these royal sepulchres on the return of the Jews from the captivity? They were found ransacked and rifled, and the tombs remained in this state until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. This prince, as is well known, entered upon the desperate project of extirpating the very worship of Jehovah, and with this view he first prepared himself against a rebellion by rendering the people utterly defenceless, throwing down the walls of the city,[d] and erecting the celebrated Acra on the site of the royal tombs as the most eligible spot for overawing the Temple. A place of burial, so dreadful a pollution in the eyes of a Jew,[e] presented no obstacle to the mind of a Greek. "They *built the City of David* with a great wall and stout, with strong towers, and it served them as an Acra" or keep;[f] and it was this stronghold that became "a sore snare and

sepulchres of David was certainly to the east of the Fountain of Siloam, and the sepulchres being described as opposite to this part of the wall must have been on the other side of the valley at or close to the village of Siloam. It is remarkable that Josephus in describing the wall of circumvallation by Titus, at the south-east of the city, tells us that it ran southward along the foot of the Mount of Olives "as far as the rock called Peristereon (περιστερεῶνος), and the crest next it which faces the Valley of Siloam." *Bell.* v. 12, 2. There can be no doubt that the word περιστερεών is to be derived from περιστερὰ, a pigeon, and means a columbarium, so that we find Josephus making mention of a columbarium or burial-place at the exact spot indicated by Nehemiah as the Sepulchres of David. Search therefore should be made for the Sepulchres of David on the east side of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, a little to the south of the village of Siloam.

[a] 1 Kings ii. 10; xi. 43; xv. 8, 24; xxii. 50. 2 Kings viii. 24; xii. 21; xv. 38; ix. 28; xiv. 20; xvi. 20. 2 Chron. ix. 31; xii. 16; xiv. 1; xvi. 14; xxi. 1, 20; xxiv. 16, 25; xxv. 28; xxvii. 9; xxviii. 27.

[b] 2 Kings, xiv. 20.

[c] *See ante*, p. 46, *and Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*, p. 241.

[d] 1 Macc. i. 31.

[e] As to the abhorrence of a place of burial by a Jew, see in particular *Ant.* xviii. 2, 3, where it is stated that to dwell upon a place polluted by sepulchres was a violation of Jewish law; and that Herod Antipas in consequence could only people Tiberias, which was thus defiled, by absolute compulsion.

[f] 1 Macc. i. 33. The City of David had three meanings. (1.) In its largest sense it signified Jerusalem.

a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary and an evil adversary to Israel."[a] The flame of rebellion soon burst forth under the auspices of Mattathias, the aged priest, and his valorous sons. Judas Maccabeus, the lion of the family, led the way, and, collecting a small but gallant band about him, overthrew successively all the forces that dared encounter him. He now marched to Jerusalem itself, and, as the walls had been thrown down, he made his way without difficulty to the site of the Temple (called Mount Sion), and found it utterly deserted and full of abominations.[b] His first object was to remove the defilements; and the stones of the altar, which had been polluted by the Macedonians, were carried out of the sacred precincts, and lodged in the Mount of the Temple, *i. e.* the Baris or Antonia.[c] This purgation of the sanctuary was commemorated thenceforth by an annual festival of eight days, called the Encænia (the Feast of Dedication spoken of by the Evangelist[d]). The next step was to secure the Temple, *i. e.* Mount Sion, against future profanation, and Judas surrounded the *outer court* by a strong wall with towers.[e] Thus the Temple and the Acra (for Judas could not take the Acra,) were two hostile garrisons adjoining each other, and henceforth when the Jews were victorious they besieged the City of David, *i. e.* the Acra, and when the Macedonians were victorious they besieged Mount Sion, *i. e.* the Temple.[f] Antiochus Eupator, the successor of Antiochus Epiphanes, advanced with an overwhelming force to Jerusalem, and shut up Judas in the Temple; but not being able to master it by force he offered terms, viz. that, if Judas would surrender, the Temple should be intact, and the Jews should live under their own laws. Judas assented, and Antiochus was admitted into Mount Sion; but when he saw the strength of the Temple he violated his oath, and ordered the walls of the *outer* court to be razed to the ground.[g] Alcimus, the minion of Eupator, and who had been appointed high priest by him, proposed that the walls of the *inner* court also should be razed; but he dropped into the grave before the design could be carried out.[h]

Thus ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἰεβουσαίους ἐκ τῆς Ἄκρας (now the Castle of David or Citadel) καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνοικοδομήσας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, πόλιν αὐτὴν Δαυΐδου προσηγόρευσε . . . τήν τε κάτω πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἄκραν συνάψας. *Ant.* vii. 3, 2. (2.) In its less comprehensive sense the City of David was the eastern hill as opposed to Jebus. See *ante*, p. 16, note [a]. (3.) In the most limited sense, as used by the Maccabees, it was simply and exclusively the Acra or Macedonian fortress. Whoever would understand the topography of the Maccabees must note three things: 1. That the City of David was the Acra, and the Acra only; 2. That Mount Sion was the Temple (*i. e.* the outer court of the Temple and what it inclosed) only; and 3. That the Mount of the House or the Mount of the Temple was neither the Acra nor the Temple, but the Baris or Castle, afterwards called Antonia.

[a] 1 Macc. i. 35. [b] 1 Macc. iv. 38. [c] 1 Macc. iv. 46.
[d] John, x. 22. [e] 1 Macc. iv. 60; vi. 7. [f] 1 Macc vi. 18.
[g] 1 Macc. vi. 62. [h] 1 Macc. ix. 55.

Judas was slain in battle, and was succeeded by his brother Jonathan, who was no less successful than Judas, both as a general and a politician. By cleverly trimming his course between the contending competitors for the throne of the Seleucidæ, he gradually consolidated his power, and at last was strong enough to recover all Jerusalem (which had been wrested from them on the death of Judas) with the exception of the Acra. He now applied himself to the restoration of the walls of the outer court (which had been thrown down by Antiochus Eupator) and to the rebuilding of the walls of the city (which had been razed by Antiochus Epiphanes),[a] and at a subsequent period he carried the walls of Jerusalem to a still greater height, and, in order to shut up the Acra on all sides, he restored the wall along the western side of the Haram, from the south-west corner of the Baris or Antonia, to the north-west corner of the Temple.[b] The Acra had always been kept well victualled against a siege,[c] and previously to these counterworks of Jonathan had also maintained free communication on the west with the markets of the city, which were close at hand, and are now represented by the Bazaars, and on the east with the country at large. But by the heightening of the city walls the Macedonians were effectually excluded from drawing provisions from without, and, by the high wall on the east of the Haram, were debarred from reaching the markets within. Jonathan now laid siege to the Acra, but, before he could reduce it, he also was slain by treachery.

The Maccabean brothers (though four of them had fallen) were not yet extinct, for there still remained Simon, the ablest of them all in council, and equal to any in arms. He called his countrymen together, and Jewish independence was now formally proclaimed.[d] His first measure was to complete the walls of Jerusalem throughout their whole circuit,[e] and to press the siege of the Acra.

The Macedonians, being cut off from all supplies either from within or from without, implored assistance from Antioch, but the throne of the Seleucidæ was in contest, and no one came to the rescue, and thus, after a long struggle, the Acra surrendered and Simon took possession of it "with thanksgiving and with harps and cymbals, and with viols and hymns and songs."[f]

Now that the Jews were masters of the Acra what was to be done with it? As the *quondam* mausoleum of their kings, it was a polluted place and could not be inhabited. As it rose above the wall of the outer court of the Temple it commanded a view of the sacrifices, which it was profane for any stranger to over-

[a] 1 Macc. x. 11. [b] 1 Macc. xii. 36. [c] 1 Macc. i 35
[d] *Ant.* xiii. 6, 7. 1 Macc. xiii. 41. [e] 1 Macc. xiii. 10. *Ant.* xiii. 6, 7. [f] 1 Macc. xiii 51.

look. Besides, if left standing, it might again fall into the hands of an enemy and again become a snare. Simon called a council of deliberation, when it was resolved to raze the castle of the Acra, and, not only so, but to cut down the very rock also on which it was built. In one place Josephus states that they razed it to the ground in order that the Temple might be higher.[a] But in another place he states that they *lowered* the height in order that the *Temple* might appear above that also.[b] In either case the Acra was so far cut down that the Temple, that is, the wall of the outer court, rose above it. Some, with a foregone but erroneous conclusion that the Temple was seated on a mount, have understood Josephus as stating that the Temple *mount* was made to overlook the Acra *mount*, but he could not have meant this, and certainly does not say it.[c]

What was actually done may be inferred from the present state of the ground. In the centre of the Haram is the inner plateau, 15 feet high, and reaching 550 feet from north to south, and 150 feet from east to west. This was the rock which supported the Acra, and was formerly much higher, but the Maccabees cut it down generally to this level. Nearly in the middle of the inner plateau is the Sakhra, 60 feet by 50 feet, and about 5 feet above the surface of the inner plateau. Had the Maccabees cut away this also, they would have laid open and exposed the sepulchres of their kings. They therefore left just so much of the rock standing as would suffice for the protection of the tombs below. At present the only vault visible under the Sakhra is that at the south-east corner; but the walls of the vault are artificial, and on striking the north side the hollow sound indicates that this cave is only the vestibule of other excavations. As the rock must have been left with reference to the vaults, we may pretty safely conclude that the vaults below are co-extensive with the rock above, and further search should be made for ascertaining how far this surmise is correct. Captain Warren mentions a singular fact which he

[a] *εἰς ἔδαφος αὐτὴν καθεῖλεν. Ant.* xiii. 6, 7. *εἰς ἔδαφος καὶ πεδινὴν λειότητα*, &c. *ὅπως ὑψηλότερον ᾖ τὸ Ἱερόν.* Ibid.

[b] *κατεργασάμενοι τὸ ὕψος ἐποιήσαντο χθαμαλώτερον, ὡς ὑπερφαίνοιτο καὶ ταύτης τὸ Ἱερόν. Bell.* v. 4, 1. In a summary of the transactions of Simon, in the Book of Maccabees, it seems to be stated that Simon continued the Acra as a garrison: *κατῴκισεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρας Ἰουδαίους καὶ ὠχύρωσεν αὐτὴν προς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως.* 1 Macc. xiv. 37. This, if so, must have been before the resolution come to by the council to raze the Acra. I should say, however, that there is a confusion in the passage cited between the Acra and the Baris, and that what is said of the Acra was intended of the Baris, for it is certain from the same book that Simon further strengthened the Baris and dwelt in it, *προσωχύρωσε τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Ἱεροῦ καὶ ᾤκει ἐκεῖ.* 1 Macc. xiii. 52. We *must* believe with Josephus, that the rock of the Acra was lowered if not levelled.

[c] See *ante*, p. 27.

cannot explain, but which, after what we have said, is intelligible enough. On the western upper surface of the Sakhra is a channel or gutter, running from the south in a northern direction, and toward the south it is cut out of the rock, but then continues northward about 5 feet over heavy flagging, and under the flagging is a cutting in the rock 5 feet long and 2 feet wide. At the southern end of the cutting is the solid rock, but on the north the gutter holds on its course northward, though it cannot at present be followed. The visible depth of the cutting under the flagging is three feet, but it is filled with rubbish, and the real depth is not known.[a] For what possible purpose could a gutter have been made on the top of a rock 60 feet by 50 and 5 feet high? The answer is that here originally rose the Acra to a much greater altitude, and the channel or gutter in question was one of the sewers of the fortress above, and the cutting under the flagging is connected with the sepulchral vaults below.

As Simon on his capturing the Acra was prevented by religious scruples from himself occupying the Acra itself, he added to and further strengthened the Mount of the Temple, afterwards Antonia, which lay alongside the Acra[b] and was near the Temple,[c] and there fixed his palace.[d] He ruled for eight years as High Priest, and was then succeeded by his son John Hyrcanus as High Priest; and the latter was followed by his son Aristobulus, who was the first to assume the title of King; and both John and Aristobulus continued to reside in the Baris, as Simon had done before.[e] Aristobulus reigned only a year, or even less, and was succeeded by King Alexander, of whom we have something to say.

Alexander reigned long, viz. for twenty-seven years, and we may add prosperously upon the whole, though he experienced great vicissitudes. In the course of his chequered life he made many enemies, and amongst them were numbered more particularly the Pharisees. In his dying moments he was alarmed lest his remains should be denied a burial, and even be treated with ignominy. He therefore summoned his wife Alexandra to his bedside, and gave his parting admonition: "When I am no more, call in the Pharisees as your counsellors, and place the government in their hands. You will thus secure your own power, and procure for me more imposing funeral obsequies than any private person could bestow."[f] Alexander died, and his wife confided herself to the Pharisees; and

[a] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 221.

[b] παρὰ τὴν Ἄκραν. 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

[c] πλησίον τῷ Ἱερῷ. *Ant.* xviii. 4, 3.

[d] 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

[e] As to Hyrcanus, see *Ant.* xviii. 4, 3. As to Aristobulus, see *Ant.* xiii. 11, 2.

[f] *Ant.* xiii. 15, 5.

the result which had been predicted followed. The Pharisees were conciliated, and Alexandra by their aid kept possession of the throne for herself and her sons, and the body of Alexander was interred with unusual splendour.[a] Josephus does not here tell us in what this unusual splendour consisted, but we may collect it by inference, as follows. The five Maccabean brothers, Judas, Jonathan, Simon, John, and Eleazar, and their parents Mattathias and his wife, were all interred at Modin, near the sea,[b] and here Simon, the surviving brother, had invested the family mausoleum with a degree of splendour by surrounding it with a colonnade, and by erecting seven pyramids in honour of the seven Maccabeans, viz. Mattathias and his wife and their five sons, Simon himself included.[c] John, the successor of Simon, was buried, as we know, just without Jerusalem, near the tomb of our Lord, viz. in the angle without the city formed by the north wall of Sion, the ancient Jebus, or High Town, and the western face of the second wall which incompassed the "other city" on the third hill. This tomb of John the High Priest is repeatedly alluded to in the siege by Titus.[d] Aristobulus, the successor of John, reigned so short a time that we cannot suppose that his funeral would be attended with any extraordinary splendour, and no reference is anywhere made to it. But Alexander, who was not only a king nominally, but restored in some measure the *éclat* of the ancient monarchy, why should he not receive a funeral worthy of their former kings? His remains were therefore deposited with all due display in the royal vaults under the Acra (*i. e.* the Sakhra), and from this time forth these vaults went by the name of "The Tombs of King Alexander."[e] It is particularly mentioned that Aristobulus, the son of Alexander, was also buried "in the royal sepulchres,"[f] and, as he was no doubt interred in the same mausoleum with his father, we must infer that Aristobulus and Alexander were both consigned to the royal sepulchres under the Sakhra.

We pass on to Herod, who it is well known rebuilt the Temple from its foundations. The outer court with its massive cloisters was at all times a strong fortress, and was now made more formidable than ever, and, as the Temple was the hotbed of Jewish rebellion from the vast multitudes collected at the festivals within its walls, it was necessary to hold it in check by the constant presence of a

[a] *λαμπρότερον ἤ τινα τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶ βασιλέων αὐτὸν ἐκήδευσαν.* *Ant.* xiii. 16, 1.

[b] 1 Macc. ii. 70; ix. 20; xiii. 25.

[c] *Ant.* xiii. 6, 6.

[d] *Bell.* v. 6, 2; v. 7, 3; v. 9, 2; v. 11, 4; vi. 2, 10.

[e] *Τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως μνημείων.* *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

[f] *τοῖς Βασιλικοῖς μνημείοις ἐνταφησόμενος.* *Bell.* i. 9, 1.

military force. Herod must have looked wistfully at the site of the Acra, which was immediately contiguous to the Temple, and though much reduced in height was still the most eligible site for a citadel. But the prejudices of his countrymen would not permit the desecration of a place of sepulchre, and, abandoning the idea, he enlarged and further strengthened the Baris of the Maccabees at the north-west corner of the Haram, and in honour of his friend Mark Antony called it Antonia. In order to effect a junction with the Temple so as completely to command it, he very ingeniously carried two parallel cloisters from the northern wall of the Temple to Antonia, one of them a continuation of the western cloister of the Temple and the other very near to it. He was thus at all times the absolute master of the Temple, for the soldiery could pass along the roofs of the connecting cloisters to the roof of the Temple cloisters, and could relieve guard and make the necessary movements not only without interruption but even without the knowledge of the assembled worshippers below. As Antonia was so far distant from the Temple, he was also at the expense of erecting a tower half as high again as the others at the south-east corner of Antonia, in order that he might command a view of the doings in the Temple, and thus be ready to act at any moment as circumstances required.

Nothing material to the history of the Acra occurs from this time until we come to the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. The city was then divided between the two hostile factions of Simon and John; Simon holding possession of the High Town on the Western Hill, and John occupying the Temple and the precincts about it, now the Haram, on the Eastern Hill. Josephus, in describing the defence by John, introduces a statement which has hitherto passed unobserved. "The followers of John," he says, "kept the enemy at bay both from Antonia and from the northern cloister of the Temple, and from *before the Tombs of King Alexander*."[a] Here, then, the tombs of King Alexander are coupled with the rampart of the northern cloister of the Temple, and with Fort Antonia, and must have been some 'vantage ground from which to assail the enemy. It must have been some eminence, and at the same time an eminence of sufficient breadth for receiving a body of troops however small. Now, as the Temple stood at the south-west corner of the Haram, and Antonia at the north-west corner, and the cloisters connecting the two together ran along the western side of the Haram,

[a] ἀπό τε τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου στοᾶς τοῦ Ἱεροῦ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως μνημείων. *Bell.* v. 7, 3. It was in reading this passage that the idea first struck me that the Tombs of King Alexander must be identical with the Sakhra.

and as on the eastern side was the slope of the "Cedron Valley, so called,"[a] the 'vantage ground in question could only have been in the centre of the Haram, and there we find to this day what we look for, viz., a rectangular rock 60 feet by 50 rising about 5 feet above the ordinary level of the plateau; and, what is a further coincidence, having under it certainly one vault, and as we have reason to believe a series of vaults of a similar character, and which would answer to the description of "the tombs." The Sakhra, therefore, so much worshipped by the Mahomedans (but rightly disregarded by the Jews, who have no reverence for it), is neither more nor less than "the Tombs of King Alexander." Josephus does not say the *tomb* but the *tombs*. When he speaks of the sepulchre of a single person he calls it the tomb, in the singular, as the Tomb of the High Priest John;[b] but when he refers to the mausoleum of a family he calls it the *tombs*, as for instance the Tombs of Queen Helena, now known as the Tombs of the Kings.[c] Assuming that the Sakhra is the Mausoleum of King Alexander, there must assuredly, as was long ago conjectured, be other vaults in connection with the existing one which remain to be explored.

I do not know that the subsequent history of the Aera will furnish any further proofs in confirmation of the hypothesis that here was the mausoleum of the Maccabean kings, as it had been before of some of the ancient kings; but, as we have traced the history of the Aera thus far, it may not be unacceptable to continue the account of it until we come to the time when it fell into the hands of the Mahomedans.

In A.D. 131, and therefore sixty-one years after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, Adrian made the circuit of the subjugated provinces, and, on arriving at Jerusalem, he, according to Dion, erected a Temple to Jupiter on the very site of the Temple of Jehovah;[d] and, according to Jerome, he erected in this temple not only the image of Jupiter, but also a statue of himself,[e] just as shortly afterwards he erected his own statue in the Temple of Jupiter at Athens.[f] The Temple to Jupiter at Jerusalem however was very short-lived, for no sooner had Adrian withdrawn to a distance, than the Jews, A.D. 132, broke out into open

[a] See *ante*, p. 20.

[b] *Bell.* vi. 2, 10; v. 9, 2; v. 11, 4; v. 7, 3; v. 6, 2.

[c] *Bell.* v. 3, 3; v. 4, 2.

[d] *ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τόπον ναὸν τῷ Διὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος.* Dion. lxix. 12.

[e] Ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Jovis idolum collocatum. Hieron. comm. in Esaiam. ii. 8.

[f] Dion. lxix. 16.

rebellion, and it is almost needless to say that, as the dedication of the Temple to Jupiter was the very cause of the war, one of the first acts of the insurrection was to throw it to the ground and to commence the restoration of the Temple to Jehovah. The war lasted three years and a half, and at the close of A.D. 135 Adrian was everywhere triumphant, when he pulled down the Temple which the Jews had erected to Jehovah, and resettled Jerusalem as a Greek colony under the name of Ælia Capitolina.[a] As the erection of the Temple to Jupiter on the very site of the Jewish Temple had led to a national outbreak, Adrian thought it prudent not to repeat an unnecessary cause of irritation, and contented himself with the assertion of his power by placing an equestrian statue of himself on the very site of the Holy of Holies.[b] Adrian, says Epiphanius, was minded to restore the City, but not the Temple.[c]

[a] καθελὼν τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις . . . ἐπέθηκε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει, Αἰλίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας. *Chron. Pascal.* p. 254 A., A.D. 119 (an erroneous date) cited by Clinton, F. R., A.D. 131.

[b] De Hadriani equestri statua quæ in ipso sancti sanctorum loco usque in presentem diem stetit. Hieron. comm. in Matt. xxi. 15.

[c] Τὴν πόλιν κτίσαι, οὐ μὴν τὸ Ἱερόν. *Epiphan. de Pond. et Mens.* s. 14.

The testimony of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who was at Jerusalem in A.D. 333, deserves especial notice. "In the sanctuary itself," he says, "where was the Temple that Solomon built (in æde ipsâ ubi Templum fuit), on the marble before the altar, you would say that the blood of Zacharias had only just been spilt. The marks also of the nails of the soldiers who slew him appear over the whole area as if impressed upon wax. There also are two statues of Adrian. Not far from the statues is the *worn-through* stone (lapis pertusus) to which the Jews come year by year and anoint it, and lament with groans, and rend their garments, and so retire." Here we have brought together in juxta-position to each other three things: 1. The sanctuary of the Temple of Solomon; 2. The statues of Adrian; and 3. The wailing-place of the Jews. We know the site of the wailing-place, viz. at the south-west corner of the Haram. Here, therefore, were also the statues of Adrian, and on the same spot had stood the Temple of Solomon. Thus the Bordeaux Pilgrim entirely confirms the view that the position of the Temple was at the south-west corner of the Haram. The words "in æde ipsâ ubi Templum fuit" implies that the Temple was no more; and that the blood of Zacharias was shown amongst the ruins we learn from Jerome (A.D. 400): "Simpliciores fratres inter ruinas Templi et altaris, sive in portarum exitibus quæ Siloë ducunt, rubra saxa monstrantes Zachariæ sanguine putant esse polluta." *Commentary on Matthew* cited by De Sauley, *Mémoires de l'Institut*, vol. xxvi. p. 67 (1867).

But the worthy pilgrim has fallen into one error, which we can easily account for. There was only one statue to Adrian, viz. the equestrian statue referred to by Jerome, and the other statue was erected subsequently in honour of the Emperor Antoninus. But as the inscription at the base bore the full title of Antoninus, viz. "Tito Æl. Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio," the pilgrim was misled by the opening words "Tito Ælio Hadriano," and erroneously imputed the statue to Adrian. The inscription itself still exists, and has been built into the south wall of the Haram. Barclay, *City of the Great King*, p. 492.

The site of the Jewish Temple was evidently well known in the time of the Bordeaux Pilgrim; and his

Fortunately a passage in the Paschal Chronicle, though somewhat enigmatical, enables us to elicit what important alterations in the site of the Acra were introduced by Adrian. In describing the various edifices erected by the Emperor at Jerusalem, it tells us that he constructed "the two Baths" (*δημόσια*), and the Theatre, and the Three Arches (*τρικάμερον*), and the Tetranymphum (*τετράνυμφον*), and the Twelve-Gates, before called the Steps (*τὸ δωδεκάπυλον τὸ πρὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἀναβαθμοί*), and the Quadra (*Κόδραν*). As to the *Theatre*, De Saulcy thinks that he found vestiges of it at the north-east of the city,[b] and Captain Warren would place it on Ophel, a little below the Haram.[c] By the *Three Arches* is meant the Arch of the Ecce Homo, which has a central arch, and had until lately two side-arches. The *Tetranymphum* was what the Bordeaux Pilgrim calls the *quadriporticus*, or four-sided colonnade, about the Pool of Siloam, and the columns were still standing in the time of Antoninus Martyr, and a fragment of them was found by Captain Warren.[d] But what were the Twelve-Gates, (formerly called the Steps,) and the Quadra? However little apparent it may be at first sight, they may be set down, the one as the inner plateau of the Haram, and the other as the Sakhra. If a person familiar with Jerusalem were asked to name what place in Jerusalem would be called emphatically "The Steps," I think he would at once answer, "The inner plateau of the Haram," which is ascended at the present day on all its sides by flights of steps. But further, at the top of these flights of

contemporary. Eusebius, asserts the same thing. Eusebius, *Theophan.* B. iv. c. 18, cited by Williams, *Holy City*, ii. p. 414; and see *Mémoires de l'Institut Imperial*, xxvi. 64 (1867). And the ruins, as we have seen, are referred to by Jerome, A. D. 400; and so still later by Antoninus Martyr, A. D. 600. *Ante Ruinas Templi Salomonis*, &c. c. xxiii.

We may here remark that, in the time of Constantine the Great, the Jews made a second attempt to rebuild their Temple, and were barbarously punished for their insolence. Chrysost. *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων*, B. vi. 333, cited by Williams, *Holy City*, ii. p. 334. And under the Emperor Julian a third attempt was made, under the imperial auspices, to restore the Temple of Jehovah, when, as is well known, the works were stopped by the eruption of balls of flame. *Ammian. Marcel.* xxiii. 1, 3. See Clinton's *Fasti Rom.* A. D. 363. Chrysostom alludes to these three fruitless endeavours to rebuild the Temple, *αὐτοὺς* (the Jews) *δείκνυμι οὐκ ἅπαξ, οὐδὲ δὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρὶς ἐπιχειρήσαντας. . . .* (1.) *ὁρᾶς τὴν πρώτην ἐπιχείρησιν* (under Adrian). (2.) *Βλέπε δὲ καὶ τὴν μέτ' ἐκείνην ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησιν, κ.τ.λ.* (3.) *καὶ τοῖς σφόδρα νεοῖς* (the attempt under Julian) *δῆλον καὶ καταφανές.* loc. cit. Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 335; and adds that the site down to his own day (A. D. 400) still remained vacant *καὶ νῦν ἐὰν ἔλθῃς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, γυμνὰ ὄψει τὰ θεμέλια.* loc. cit. Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 335.

[a] *Chron. Pasch.* A.D. 119.

[b] *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, ii. 18.

[c] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 297.

[d] Ibid. p. 267, where will be seen a sketch of one of the capitals.

steps are slight portals or gateways, opening upon the plateau itself. There are still three of these flights of steps on one of the four sides of the plateau, and, though on the other sides the number varies, we have reason to conclude that there were originally, to preserve a uniformity of design, three flights of steps and gateways on each side, and then we shall have the Twelve Gates in all. Here then are the Twelve-Gates formerly called "The Steps," and thus we learn from the Paschal Chronicle that the present form of the plateau is due to the Emperor Adrian. But further, the Chronicle connects with the Twelve-Gates the Quadra, or Square, and in the centre of the plateau we find the square of the Sakhra. It was long ago described as "quadrangular, like a shield, nearly cubical,"[a] and it still preserves, in a general way, the same configuration. This Quadra could have served but for one purpose, viz. for the erection upon it of the image of Jupiter. It was a rule of Roman architecture that the image of Jupiter should be erected on the highest and most commanding point,[b] and such was unquestionably the Sakhra. It is remarkable that the Paschal Chronicle, though it enumerates the works of Adrian at Jerusalem quite in detail, yet makes no mention of any Temple. We may conclude, therefore, that the only Temple left by Adrian was the δωδεκάπυλον of the inner plateau as the Τέμενος or Templum, with the Quadra or Sakhra, surmounted by the image of Jupiter, as the ναός, or *ædes*.[c]

As Christianity silently but surely permeated the Roman empire, and leavened the whole population, the worship of idols fell into disrepute, and the temples became neglected. But Paganism was not to be supplanted without a struggle, and under Diocletian, at the commencement of the fourth century (A.D. 303), a violent persecution against the Christians was set on foot. The bitterness of it had died away, when to the world's surprise Diocletian resigned the supreme power, and retired as a private citizen to Spalatro. Here he had erected a splendid palace, and, as Jupiter was his tutelary god, he dedicated there a temple to Jupiter. It stood near the centre of a rectangular platform, was octagonal (which was unusual), and of the Corinthian order, and had a vault under it, and was approached by a golden gate built in the wall of the outer platform. On the

[a] Edrisi cited by Pierotti, i. 289; and so Antoninus Martyr. *Petra autem ibi est quadrangula*, c. 23.

[b] See Vitruvius, i. 7.

[c] A coin of Adrian has the head of the Emperor with a tetrastyle Temple on the obverse, and the inscription "Col. Æl. Cap." on the reverse. Eckhel, iii. 442. This Temple, if the one at Jerusalem be referred to, must have been the Temple destroyed by the Jews at the time of the insurrection. It is more probable however that, as Jerusalem was restored by the name of Ælia *Capitolina*, the Temple meant to be represented on the coin was that of Jupiter *Capitolinus* at *Rome*.

retreat of Diocletian the empire devolved on Constantius and Galerius as the two Emperors or Augusti, and on Severus and Maximinus Daza as the two Cæsars. These four were of different temperaments, and they agreed to parcel out the empire between them, and Syria, Palestine, and Egypt fell to the lot of Maximinus Daza. He was a man of low origin, illiterate, and a bigoted heathen, and set himself to the work of extirpating Christianity. The persecution, begun some years before, was revived with all its fury, and, in the words of Gibbon, Maximinus Daza was the last and most implacable enemy of the Church throughout his dominions; the Christians were branded with infamy and suffered martyrdom in Judea and elsewhere, the images of the heathen gods were reinstated, and their temples restored. Jupiter was the tutelary god of Maximinus Daza as well as of Diocletian; and Maximinus Daza now erected over the image of Jupiter on the Sakhra a magnificent temple modelled after the temple erected to the same god by Diocletian at Spalatro. Thus he made it octagonal, and of the Corinthian order, with a cave under it (originally one of the vaults of the Tombs of King Alexander); and, to complete the parallel, the approach to the temple on the eastern side of the Haram was by a golden gate, still so-called in imitation of the Golden Gate at Spalatro. The minute details of architecture in both the temples were also precisely similar. Eusebius informs us in general terms only that Maximinus restored the temples in Judea, but does not mention the Temple of Jupiter at Jerusalem in particular; but the voice of competent architects has pronounced that the fabric which is now standing, and has since been converted into the Mosque of Omar, must certainly be ascribed to the last half of the third century or the first half of the fourth century; and, if so, it was probably the work of Maximinus Daza. It was certainly not one of the edifices of Constantine the Great, for Eusebius, who wrote the life of Constantine, has carefully enumerated all the buildings erected by him, and this is not one of the number.*

* For further details on this subject see the author's paper on "The Mosque of Omar," read before the Society of Antiquaries, and published in the *Archæologia*, xli. 135. I have since doubted whether the mosque was not erected by Diocletian himself, for the following reasons: The mosque in its design and architecture is the exact counterpart of the Temple to Jupiter, erected by Diocletian at Spalatro, so that we should naturally refer them both to the same founder if other circumstances rendered it not improbable. So far from any improbability, the supposition may be shown to be highly probable. Thus, in A.D. 296, Diocletian was at Antioch and passed through Palestine, and therefore it is likely through Jerusalem, on his way to Egypt (Photius, *Codex*, 256, p. 1405; Euseb. *Vita Constantini*, i. 19), and afterwards returned through Palestine to Antioch, and enacted the part of Jupiter, his patron god, in the Mystery or Religious Drama at the Olympia of Antioch, in October of the same year: *ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων κατέφθασεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ἐλθὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου.* Malala, lib. xii. As the Olympia were celebrated every fourth year, and A.D. 296 was one of the periodical returns of the festival, this fixes the date to that year. In

In A. D. 313 the persecution ceased, and Christianity triumphed under the auspices of Constantine the Great. The temples of the idols were unroofed or defaced so as to interrupt the accustomed idol worship;[a] and twenty years afterwards, viz. A. D. 333, when the Bordeaux Pilgrim visited Jerusalem, the Temple of Jupiter, which had, no doubt, been neglected, seems to have been pointed out to wandering travellers as the traditional palace of Hezekiah; at least the Bordeaux Pilgrim, in describing the objects of curiosity in the Haram, mentions the house of King Hezekiah (*Est ibi et domus Ezekiæ Regis Judeæ*), and there was at that time no other building on the Haram which could have passed under that name. Besides, the Temple of Jupiter was certainly then standing, and it is not likely that the pilgrim could pass it over in silence, but which would be the case unless it be referred to as the House of Hezekiah.

From this time to A. D 600 there is no mention of the Temple itself; but allusion is made to the Golden Gate which led to it in the apocryphal Gospel of St. Matthew, written probably about the middle of the fourth century.[b] And the gate at that time was a public thoroughfare, for the angel is represented as saying to Anna, "Go to the gate which is called the *Golden Gate*, and meet your husband on the way, for he will come to thee."[c]

About A. D. 600 Antoninus Martyr visited Jerusalem, and, after describing Justinian's church of St. Mary and the hospital attached, which, he says, contained 3,000 beds for the use of the sick, he proceeds to the church of St. Sophia, which, according to the tradition then current, was the Prætorium of Pilate, but in which we cannot fail to recognise the Temple originally erected to Jupiter over the *Quadra*, now the Mosque of Omar over the Sakhra. "We prayed," he

A.D. 297 Galerius made an expedition against the Persians and was defeated; but in A.D. 298 renewed the war and gained a victory. Clinton's *Fasti Rom.* During this time Diocletian remained at Antioch and employed himself in the erection of public buildings, so that he acquired the nickname of Φιλοκτίστης, the Builder. As the name of Diocletian was traced from Διός, Jupiter, the emperor devoted himself to the honour of that god, and was called Jovius, and played the part of Jupiter, as we have seen, at the Olympia at Antioch, and built a temple to Jupiter at Daphne, in the suburbs of Antioch, Ἱερὸν Ὀλυμπίου Διός. Malala, ibid. What then more likely than that, finding Adrian's image of Jupiter at Jerusalem without a temple over it, he should have proceeded to erect a temple to Jupiter at Jerusalem in imitation of the temple to Jupiter at Spalatro. Malala, being a native of Antioch, confines himself to the works of Diocletian at Antioch, and it would not fall within the scope of his history to mention the Temple at Jerusalem.

[a] Euseb. *Vit. Constant.* c. 54.

[b] See Tischendorf's *Evang. Apocryph.* p. xxv.

[c] Vade ad portam quæ dicitur *Porta Aurea*, &c. Tischendorf's *Evang. Apocryph.* p. 59.

says, "in the Prætorium, where our Lord was heard, and it is now the church of St. Sophia. In the church itself is the seat on which Pilate sat when he heard the Lord. But there is there the *square rock* which stood in the middle of the Prætorium, upon which the accused who was being heard was set, that he might be heard and seen by all the people. The Lord was raised upon that when he was heard by Pilate, where also his *footmarks have remained.* Also of that rock where he stood many virtues are manifested. Taking the measure from the prints of his feet, they tie it on for their various disorders, and are cured. The rock itself, also, is adorned with both gold and silver."[a] Monkish lore, which had thus converted the Temple of Jupiter first into the House of Hekeziah and then into the Prætorium of Pilate, had also by this time transformed the *Golden Gate* into the *Beautiful Gate of the Temple,* for Antoninus speaks of it as the Porta Speciosa, c. 17, and Prudentius, who wrote about the same time, attests the same tradition.[b]

Not long after the visit of Antoninus, Jerusalem fell under the dominion of the Mahomedans, and the church of St. Sophia then became a mosque, and the footprints of Jesus were metamorphosed into the footprints of Mahomet.

Such is the varied history of the Acra: First a bare rock in the garden of Uzza, then the mausoleum of the Kings of Judah, then a Macedonian fortress, then the tombs of King Alexander, then a temple to Jupiter, then a church to St. Sophia, and now a Mahomedan mosque.

[a] Anton. Martyr. c. xxiii.

[b] Porta manet Templi, Speciosam quam vocitarunt. Prudent. *Diptych.* xlvi.

IV.—*Remarks on an Inscription on a Copper Dish found at Chertsey: in a Letter from* WILLIAM RALSTON SHEDDEN RALSTON, ESQ. *to C. S. Perceval, Esq. LL.D. Director.*

Read June 8th, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Thirtieth Volume of the Archæologia contains, at page 40, a letter by Mr. John M. Kemble on a so-called Runic inscription, "cut in basso-relievo upon the rim of a pure copper dish, which was dug up nearly a century and a half ago, on the site of the once celebrated monastery of St. Peter" at Chertsey. Mr. Kemble's reading of the inscription (here engraved of the actual size) is GÆTEOHURÆCKO,

FROM A COPPER DISH IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

which he divides into the two words GÆTEOH and URÆCKO. As these words offer certain difficulties, as for instance—the O final, and "the archaic character of the U for W and CK for CC," he suggests that the dish, which he thinks may date "in its present form from the eleventh or even the twelfth century," is a copy of one, the first carving of which "may be referred to a period little short of the foundation of the monastery itself, in other words to the close of the seventh century."

"My hypothesis then," he proceeds to say, "is, that there was once another

vessel, of somewhat similar form and material, used to collect the alms of the faithful in the very ancient church of the monastery of St. Peter; that the inscription and the vessel itself having by lapse of time become worn out, a copy was made of them, the form of the dish varying a little, in accordance with the altered taste of the time, but the inscription being reproduced *literatim* to the best of the copyist's ability; that this took place towards the close of the Anglo-Saxon power in England, when the runes had ceased to be intelligible; and, lastly, that Mr. Wetton's dish is a copy so made. I need hardly remind you of the superstitious reverence paid, in even later times, to books containing runic characters. . . . There was in this tendency ample reason for causing the inscription to be imitated upon the new vessel, especially as tradition had probably preserved its meaning—OFFER SINNER!—a warning more than usually awful from the mysterious guise in which it met the eye."

A short time ago I sent a rubbing from the inscription to St. Petersburg, and Professor Sreznievsky, of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, has favoured me with a very simple solution of the mysterious words of which it is composed. They are in all probability, he says, modern Greek, reading XATZH ΠAPACKO, or Χατζη Παρασκο = The Pilgrim Parasco's. The word χατζῆς, gen. χατζῆ, is a modern word for a pilgrim,[a] taken from the Turkish Hadji, and forming a title borne by such pious Greeks as have visited Jerusalem. The name Parasco is one of Græco-Italian or Græco-Roumanian form, like Bergamasco and many others. It seems likely, therefore, that at some not very distant time a pilgrim named Parasco had his name and his title cut upon the dish in question, which was afterwards brought to Chertsey by some traveller in the Levant, and is now preserved in the British Museum.

Yours very truly,

W. R. S. RALSTON.

British Museum, May 25, 1871.

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[a] See "A Lexicon of Modern Greek-English," by N. Contopoulos, 1868, 8vo.

V.—*Observations on the hitherto unnoticed Expedition of the Emperor Augustus into Britain.* *By* William Henry Black, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*

Read February 9th, 1871.

It is the common and inveterate opinion of modern writers, and it seems to be accepted by all antiquaries in the present day, that Britain remained unvisited by the Romans, and free from subjection to the Roman empire, from the time when Julius Cæsar left our shores to the expedition of Claudius and his conquest of the south-eastern part of the island, almost a century afterward. That is a long interval, extending from B.C. 54 to A.D. 43, a period of not less than ninety-five years; and, if the common opinion be true, there is a great and terrible blank in our national history, immediately following the events which had made our nation known to the Roman world.

But it has often occurred to me as unlikely that Great Britain, the reduction of part of which by the first Roman Emperor added so much to his fame, should have been quite neglected (as is commonly supposed), when the utmost regions of the East were sought in the reign of the second Emperor. I have therefore been induced to examine, with scrupulous care, the grounds on which the common opinion rests, and the ancient authorities which still exist, relative to the earlier part of that long interval of ninety-five years, and I have come to a different conclusion.

The authorities quoted by those who hold the negative position, namely, that there was no Roman occupation or subjugation of Britain during that interval, are chiefly two Roman biographers, Cornelius Tacitus and Suetonius Tranquillus; of whom the one wrote the life of his relative Julius Agricola in A.D. 97, the other wrote his life of the Emperor Claudius in or after the same year. Neither of these authors, therefore, lived within the interval of ninety-five years now in question, but they flourished more than half a century after it had expired: they therefore wrote, not from personal knowledge, but only from information, belief, or opinion. Negations such as theirs ought to have little or no weight against positive testimony to the contrary from contemporaneous authors.

In the well-known passage of Tacitus it is said that "although Julius [Cæsar], first of all the Romans, entered Britain with an army and frightened the inhabitants, and obtained possession of the shore, yet he may seem to have shown it, not to have delivered it, to posterity. Afterward were civil wars, the arms of princes turned against the republic, and a long forgetfulness of Britain, even in peace (*longa oblivio Britanniæ, etiam in pace*). Augustus called it a purpose (*consilium*), Tiberius a command or duty (*præceptum*). It is well known that Caius Cæsar [Caligula] agitated about entering Britain, if he had not been quick in inventing and easy in changing his plans, and his vast efforts against Germany failed. Claudius was the author of the work, carrying over both legions and auxiliaries, and taking Vespasianus as a partner in it."[a]

Suetonius, writing of this fourth Emperor, says, "One single expedition he [Claudius] made, and that a moderate one. When triumphal ornaments had been decreed to him by the Senate which he thought inferior to the majesty of a prince, and he desired the honour of a just triumph, he chose as the special means whereby he should gain it Britain, which had not been tried by any one after Julius (*Britanniam potissimùm elegit, neque tentatum ulli post divum Julium*), and which was then in a state of uproar by reason of the non-restitution of refugees (*et tunc tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas*). Hither when he sailed from Ostia he was twice almost drowned in a vehement gale, near Liguria and by the Hières (*Stœchades*) islands. Wherefore, having gone by land from Marseilles to Boulogne (*Gessoriacum*), he passed over thence, and, without any battle or blood, within a very few days he took part of the island by surrender, returned to Rome in the sixth month after he had gone forth, and triumphed with very grand array."[b]

This author is consistent with himself; for all that he says of Britain in the life of Julius is only that "He attacked the Britons, unknown before, and, having overcome them, he commanded or imposed moneys and hostages;" also that "in Britain his fleet was almost destroyed by force of a tempest."[c] But this writer makes no mention of Britain under Augustus or Tiberius; and under Caligula he briefly tells the story of the submission of a son of Cunobelinus with his companions to that Emperor in Gaul, and of the fictitious triumph in which that Emperor led them, as if he had taken the whole island.[d] As this ridiculous affair happened in or about A.D. 40, and the actual and undoubted expedition of

[a] De *vita Agricolæ*, c. 13.
[b] De *vita Claudii*, c. 17.
[c] De *vita Julii*, c. 25.
[d] De *vita Calig.* c. 44.

Claudius is assigned to the year A.D. 43, it is easy to account for the tumults in Britain about the non-restitution of British refugees by the Romans, which gave a colour to the invasion of the island by Claudius only three years afterward.

Any argument derived from the silence of those other Latin historians which have come down to our times is of little weight against positive evidence to the contrary, especially if we consider the loss of the larger and contemporary historians, and the studied brevity of those *epitomators* with whom we are obliged to content ourselves, since the Goths and Vandals destroyed libraries and public monuments and records, and forced a foreign tongue on the west and south of Europe, in the fourth and following centuries, as their German descendants are doing again in Gaul at the present time. Let us inquire, therefore, what evidence is afforded by the poets and fragmentary monuments of the Augustan age.

First of all I must quote the well-known lines of Virgil's first Eclogue, because the meaning of the passage seems to have been misunderstood. Take for example Dryden's translation, where he makes Melibœus complain thus:—

> But we must beg our bread in climes unknown,
> Beneath the scorching or the freezing zone;
> And some to far Oaxis shall be sold,
> Or try the Libyan heat, or Scythian cold;
> *The rest among the Britons be confin'd,*
> *A race of men from all the world disjoin'd.*
> Oh! must the wretched exiles ever mourn,
> Nor after length of rolling years return?
> Are we condemn'd, by fate's unjust decree,
> No more our houses and our homes to see?
> Or shall we mount again the rural throne,
> And rule the country kingdoms, once our own?
> Did we for these barbarians plant and sow,
> On these, on these, our happy fields bestow?
> Good heav'n! what dire effects from civil discord grow?

Here our great English poet suggests that the Mantuan hinds were wantonly driven from their homes and fields to beg their bread, or to be "sold" into slavery; whereas the careful reader of the original perceives only a change of rural occupation by the vicissitudes of military tenure and service. The ample Commentary of Maurus Servius Honoratus, written in the fourth century, thus explains the occasion of the poem:—"And the cause of writing the Bucolics is this: When, after Cæsar was slain in the Senate, on the third day of the ides of March, Augustus his son stirred civil wars against his father's murderers and

Antony. Having obtained victory he gave the lands of the men of Cremona, who had opposed him, to his own soldiers; which when they sufficed not, he commanded those of the Mantuans to be distributed, not for fault but for vicinity. Whence is that verse, *Mantua, væ! miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ!* Therefore, having lost his land, Virgil came to Rome, and by the favour of mighty men he merited alone to take again his own land; going to take back which he was almost killed by Arius a centurion, who held it, if he had not thrown himself into the Mincio, whence is that allegorically said, *Ipse aries etiam nunc vellera siccat.* Afterward the triumvirs, sent by Augustus, delivered both his own land to him and to the Mantuans in part."[a]

The joyful, grateful, flattering Tityrus represents Virgil; poor unhappy Melibœus represents a peasant turned out from his holding to serve in the army, instead of some veteran, to whom his land was allotted. He sees no prospect before him but transportation to foreign wars and garrisons to serve in the Roman army. Hence he cries out,—

> At nos hinc alii sitientes ibimus Afros,
> Pars Scythiam, et rapidum Cretæ veniemus Oaxem,
> Et penitus toto divisos orbe *Britannos*,

referring to some of the localities of the foreign wars of Augustus in Egypt, Pannonia, Mesopotamia, and the distant island of *Britain*. But how could this be, if neither war was carried on nor a Roman garrison existed at that time in Britain, or was then contemplated? How, if there was the *longa oblivio*

[a] The following is the Latin text of this passage:—"Et caussa scribendorum Bucolicorum hæc est: Cum post occisum iii. iduum Martiarum die in Senatu Cæsarem, Augustus ejus filius contra percussores patris et Antonium, civilia bella movisset: victoria potitus, Cremonensium agros, qui contra eum senserant, militibus suis dedit: qui cum non sufficerent, etiam Mantuanorum jussit distribui, non propter culpam, sed propter vicinitatem. Unde est, 'Mantua væ! miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ.' Perdito ergo agro, Virgilius Romam venit, et potentium favore meruit ut agrum suum solus reciperet. Ad quem accipiendum profectus, ab Ario centurione, qui eam tenebat, pene est interemptus, nisi se præcipitasset in Mincium. Unde est allegoricòs, 'Ipse aries etiam nunc vellera siccat.' Postea ab Augusto missis Triumviris, et ipsi integer ager est redditus, et Mantuanis pro parte." (Servius Comm. in Virg. Ecl. i. *inter* Prolegomena, p. 2.) [Donatus, in his *Life of Virgil*, gives the same facts more in detail, following probably the same ancient authority.]

In the celebrated verse "Et penitus," &c. the text and commentary of Servius read *diversos* for "divisos;" and his notes on it are as follow:—"*Penitus.*] Id est, omnino. *Diversos.*] Quia olim juncta fuit orbi terrarum Britannia. Est enim insula sita in Oceano Septentrionali; et, a poetis, alter orbis terrarum dicitur." (Ibid. ed. Col., p. 7.)

supposed by Tacitus? The Parthians and Germans, with whom there was actual and undoubted war, had just before been mentioned by Tityrus. And at the close of the first book of the Georgics, the poet, mentioning the triumphs of Augustus, names both the Euphrates and Germany as seats of his wars in the following beautiful lines, which deplore the disastrous effect of those wars upon agriculture:—

——— tot bella per orbem;
Tam multæ scelerum facies; non ullus aratro
Dignus honos: squalent abductis arva colonis,
Et curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.
Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum.

(Georg. i. 505-9.)

Thus happily expressed by Dryden, in language befitting the present day:—

Ye homeborn deities, of mortal birth!
Thou, father Romulus; and mother Earth,
Goddess unmov'd! whose guardian arms extend
O'er Tuscan Tiber's course, and Roman tow'rs defend;
With youthful Cæsar your joint pow'rs engage,
Nor hinder him to save the sinking age;—
O let the blood, already spilt, atone
For the past crimes of curst Laomedon!
Heav'n wants thee there; and long the gods, we know,
Have grudg'd thee, Cæsar, to the world below,
Where fraud and rapine right and wrong confound,
Where impious arms from ev'ry part resound,
And monstrous crimes in ev'ry shape are crown'd.
The peaceful peasant to the wars is prest;
The fields lie fallow in inglorious rest;
The plain no pasture to the flock affords,
The crooked scythes are straighten'd into swords;
And there *Euphrates* her soft offspring arms,
And here the *Rhine* rebellows with alarms.
The neighb'ring cities range on sev'ral sides;
Perfidious Mars long-plighted leagues divides,
And o'er the wasted world in triumph rides.
So four fierce coursers, starting to the race,
Scour through the plain, and lengthen ev'ry pace;
Nor reins, nor curbs, nor threat'ning cries, they fear,
But force along the trembling charioteer.

It is in this highly finished poem, the Georgics, that I find direct and satisfactory proof of an expedition actually made by Augustus into Britain. The passage may be somewhat obscure, but when carefully examined, especially in the light of other ancient authors, the fact is undeniable. That poem is plainly and notoriously inscribed to his patron Mæcenas; yet it alludes to and even apostrophises Augustus, as we have seen, and it contains a notable passage in his honour at the opening of the third book; where, having invoked the rustic goddess Pales and Apollo Nomius (*Te quoque magna Pales! et te memorande, canemus, Pastor ab Amphryso!*) he says, that he shall avoid common themes and fables, and shall try a new way to universal fame. Then he proceeds thus:—

> Primus ego in patriam mecum (modo vita supersit),
> Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas, etc.
>
> (Georg. iii. 10, 11, &c.)

"I shall be the first to do what none other Mantuan (as the ancient commentator explains it) hath ever yet done. I shall carry the Muses into my own country, if I live long enough to return from the classic regions of Greece. I'll build a temple on the banks of the Mincio; there I'll found ceremonies and games and sacrifices and shows in honor of Augustus; *and there I shall have captive Britons to carry embroidered scenery in which his triumphs shall be represented.*

> Vel scena ut versis discedat frontibus; utque
> Purpurea intexti tollant aulæa *Britanni*.
>
> Ibid. iii. 24, 25.

The whole passage is thus rendered, in glowing verse, by our poet Dryden:—

> I, first of Romans, shall in triumph come
> From conquer'd Greece, and bring her trophies home;
> With foreign spoils adorn my native place,
> And with Idumè's palms my Mantua grace.
> Of Parian stone a temple will I raise,
> Where the slow Mincius through the valley strays;
> Where cooling streams invite the flocks to drink,
> And reeds defend the winding river's brink.
> Full in the midst shall mighty Cæsar stand,
> Hold the chief honors, and the dome command.
> Then I, conspicuous in my Tyrian gown,
> (Submitting to his godhead my renown,)
> A hundred coursers from the goal will drive;
> The rival chariots in the race shal strive

All Greece shall flock from far my games to see;
The whorlbat, and the rapid race, shall be
Reserv'd for Cæsar, and ordain'd by me.
Myself, with olive crown'd, the gifts will bear;
(Ev'n now methinks the public shouts I hear,
The passing pageants and the pomps appear).
I to the temple will conduct the crew,
The sacrifice and sacrificers view;
From dance return, attended with my train,
Where the proud theatres disclose the scene,
Which interwoven Britons seem to raise,
And show the triumph which their shame displays.
High o'er the gate, in elephant and gold,
The crowd shall Cæsar's *Indian* war behold:
The *Nile* shall flow beneath; and, on the side,
His shatter'd ships on brazen pillars ride.
Next him, *Niphates*, with inverted urn
And dropping sedge, shall his *Armenia* mourn,
And *Arian* cities in our triumph borne.
With backward bows the *Parthians* shall be there,
And, spurring from the sight, confess their fear.
A double wreath shall crown our Cæsar's brows,
Two diff'ring trophies, from two diff'rent foes.
Europe with *Afric* in his fame shall join,
But neither shore his conquest shall confine.
The Parian marble, there, shall seem to move,
In breathing statues not unworthy Jove;
Resembling heroes, whose ethereal root
Is Jove himself, and Cæsar is the fruit.
Tros and his race the sculptor shall employ,
And he, the god, who built the walls of Troy.
Envy herself, at last grown pale and dumb,
(By Cæsar combated and overcome,)
Shall give her hands, and fear the curling snakes
Of lashing furies, and the burning lakes:
The pains of famish'd Tantalus shall feel;
And Sisyphus that labors up the hill
The rolling rock in vain; and curs'd Ixion's wheel."

Here we find the most famous and distant localities of the historic victories of Augustus prescribed to be represented in the poet's temple and shows. Were those victories unreal or actual? Was Britain then forgotten or feigned? Why then, if the *Britons alone* are mentioned as taking any actual part in the Mantuan

pageants, should it be supposed that Augustus exercised no dominion, or obtained no victory, over our countrymen? Fortunately for us the couplet in which they are named is elucidated by the ancient commentator whom I quoted before, with statements of fact, thus introduced:—

"*Vel scena ut versis.* Amongst the antients there were only the steps (*gradus*) of a theatre. For the scene was made of boards, only for a time; whence at this day also hath remained the custom, that *pegmata* are put together for the setters forth of theatral plays. But the scene which was made was either *versilis* or *ductilis*. It was then *versilis*, when suddenly the whole was turned about by certain machines and shew another face of picture. It was then *ductilis*, when with boards drawn hither and thither an inner appearance of picture was laid bare. Wherefore skilfully he [the poet] hath touched both, saying *Versis discedat frontibus*, comprising each sort by proper words. Which thing Varro and Suetonius commemorate.

"*Purpurea intexti tollant aulæa Britanni.* This he hath said ACCORDING TO HISTORY. (*Hoc secundum Historiam est locutus.*) For Augustus AFTER HE CONQUERED BRITAIN gave to theatral duties very many of THE CAPTIVES WHOM HE HAD BROUGHT. He gave also *aulæa*, that is, *velamina*, in which he had depicted his victories, and how THE BRITONS GIVEN BY HIM should carry the same *vela*, which in fact they had been accustomed to carry. Which thing with wonderful ambiguity he hath expressed, saying *intexti tollant*. For, in the *vela*, they were painted who bore the same *vela*. But *aulæa* are so called from the *aula* of Attalus, in which were first found vast *vela*, after that he wrote the Roman people his heir."[a]

[a] The Latin text of the whole passage is as follows:—

"*Vel scena ut versis.*] Apud majores, theatri gradus tantum fuerunt. Nam scena de lignis tantum ad tempus fiebat; unde hodieque permansit consuetudo, ut componantur pegmata, a ludorum theatralium editoribus. Scena autem quæ fiebat, aut versilis erat, aut ductilis. Versilis tunc erat, cum subito tota machinis quibusdam convertebatur, et aliam picturæ faciem ostendebat. Ductilis tunc, cum, tractis tabulatis hac et illac, species picturæ nudabatur interior. Unde perite utrunque tetigit, dicens, *Versis discedat frontibus*, singula singulis complectens sermonibus. Quod Varro et Suetonius commemorant.

"*Purpurea intexti tollant aulæa Britanni.*] Hoc secundum Historiam est locutus. Nam Augustus, postquam vicit Britanniam, plurimos de captivis, quos adduxerat, donavit ad officia theatralia: dedit etiam aulæa, id est, velamina in quibus depinxerat victorias suas, et quemadmodum Britanni, ab eo donati, eadem vela portarent, quæ re vera portare consueverant. Quam rem mira expressit ambiguitate, dicens, *intexti tollant:* nam in velis ipsi erant picti, qui eadem vela portabant. *Aulæa* autem dicta sunt ab aula Attali, in qua primum inventa sunt vela ingentia, postquam is Populum Romanum scripsit hæredem." Servius, *ad Georg. lib.* i. ed. Basil. 1544, pp. 97, 98; Basil. 1618, col. 270; Col. Allob. 1620, p. 126.)

After many other minute explanations, the great commentator comes to the passage—

——— diverso ex hoste trophæa,
Bisque triumphatas utroque ab littore gentes,
Ibid. vv. 32, 33.

which he thus explains:—"*diverso ex hoste.* We take [them to be] of the east and of the west. Whence he says, *utroque ab littore*, of the east, because of the *Gangaridæ*, ['peoples (Servius explains) between the Indians and Assyrians, about the river Ganges, whence also they are called *Gangaridæ*. These Augustus overcame,' &c.] of the west, because of THE TRIUMPH OF THE BRITONS, *propter Britannorum triumphum.*" A like note, but very short one, occurs in the *Scholia* of Julius Philargyrus, printed at the end of Peter Daniel's edition of Servius, thus: "*Utroque ab litore*, that is, of the eastern ocean, and of the western; that it may be [understood] of Egypt and the Cantabri, or of *India and* BRITAIN."

Both these ancient critics, who thus explicitly ascribe a conquest of Britain, followed by a triumph, to the reign of Augustus, were believers in the mythology which they explained, were full of curious information, and lived in a time when classical literature, monuments, and traditions flourished, before the destructive incursions of the Goths. They cannot therefore be later than the third or fourth century; and Servius is distinctly quoted by Macrobius, who was an officer of state under the emperor Theodosius II., and who is placed by Saxius under the year A.D. 410.

Leaving Virgil now, let us proceed to his intimate friend and survivor Horace, who repeatedly mentions Britain and the Britons. As therefore the supposed "oblivion" of Britain did not exist in their individual cases, neither could it be forgotten by their devoted patrons Augustus and Mæcenas. The first notice, in the order of the Horatian poems, is in his Ode to Diana and Apollo, which contains a most unfriendly wish towards our ancestors, that "Apollo would drive this tearful war, this wretched famine and plague, away from the people, and from Cæsar the prince, to the Persians and Britons, *in Persas atque Britannos.*" (Carm. i. 21, 13—16.) This implies a state of hostility with both, agreeable to the histories of the time. The next is a prayer to Fortune, that she would "keep Cæsar, who *was about to go among or against the Britons, the farthest* [*inhabitants*] *of the world*, and his fresh swarm of young men, feared in

[a] [Servius is not only quoted by Macrobius, but is introduced as an interlocutor, and styled "doctissimus doctor," "doctorum maxime," in *Saturnalia*, lib. vi. c. 8.]

the eastern parts and in the Red Sea. *Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos orbis Britannos.*" (Carm. i. 35, 29—32.) This expression *ultimos*, perhaps, was written at the very time when Virgil's first eclogue was written, and reminds us of Virgil's wish to Augustus, "*tibi serviat ultima Thule.*" (Georg. i. 30.)

The next Horatian testimony only characterises the Britons as "fierce to strangers," whom nevertheless, among other distant and dangerous places and peoples, the poet would visit if he had the sure protection of the muse Calliope. *Visam Britannos hospitibus feros.* (Carm. iii. 4, 33.) Immediately follows a poem which recites not merely wishes and flattery, but also an important *matter of fact*, under the title of "Augusti laudes," and it begins thus:

> Coelo tonantem credidimus Jovem
> Regnare: præsens Divus habebitur
> Augustus, *adjectis Britannis*
> *Imperio*, gravibusque Persis.
>
> (Carm. iii. 5, 1—4.)

When it thundered, the poet says, we believed Jupiter was governing the world; so Augustus was to be reputed a present deity, "HE HAVING ADDED TO THE EMPIRE THE BRITONS, and the troublesome Persians" or Parthians, names sometimes confounded together and sometimes distinguished.[a] Clearly then this our island became a part of the Roman empire under Augustus.

In another ode to Augustus, reciting some of his victories, the poet names Alexandria, the Cantabri, Medes, Indians, and Scythians, the Nile, Danube, and Tigris, *the British Ocean*, Gaul, Iberia, and the Sicambri as all "hearing" and "venerating" the emperor, to whom, "in his third lustrum," Fortune had given prosperous successes of his wars, so that their arms were laid aside.

> Te bellhosus qui remotis
> Obstrepit Oceanus *Britannis*,
> * * *
> Compositis venerantur armis.
>
> (Carm. iv. 14. 47—52.)

This ode appears to be a little prior in date to the *Carmen Sæculare* of Horace, but yet of the same year, U.C. 737,=A.C. 17, being the fourteenth imperial year of Augustus. In the latter poem the Medes, Albanians, Scythians, and "lately the proud Indians," are represented as having been brought into subjection and

[a] [Acron, nearly contemporary with Servius, comments thus on this passage:—"*Adjectis Britannis, etc.* Per has gentes, ab ultimo occidente usque ad orientem continuâsse imperium, *provincias acquirendo*, confirmat Augustum," *ed.* Hauthal. Berolini, p. 278. Porphyrion's note, *ibid.* is to the same effect.]

peace. These public events are recorded under his sixth, tenth, and eleventh years (U.C. 729, 733, 734), by Dio Cassius; and they may be traced with great distinctness in the "Chronographia Augusti," printed with this emperor's *Fragmenta* (which were collected and edited by J. A. Fabricius, at Hamburg, 1727, 4to.), pp. 41—45.

There remains one mention of our ancestors by this interesting poet in his ode "Ad Populum Romanum," where he remonstrates against a popular tumult as suicidal, and as tending to the very thing which the enemies of Rome wished, especially naming the Britons and Parthians in that capacity, thus:

Non, ut superbas invidæ Carthaginis
Romanus arces ureret,
Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus via;
Sed ut, secundum vota *Parthorum*, sua
Urbs hæc periret dextera?
(Epod. 7, 5—10.)

Whatever be the date, it smells of the triumvirate, and must have been written before the first submission of the Parthians, which is chronologically placed in the first imperial year of Augustus (Fabricius, p. 39), when certainly Britain *had not been touched by this emperor*, though his predecessor had both touched it and professed to have handled it severely. The meaning is, "What you Romans are doing is, not to extend your dominions or to bring about a triumph over your enemies, so that a Briton should (for the first time) be led in chains along the *Via Sacra*, the triumphal way in your city of Rome; but it goes rather to destroy the power and existence of Rome itself." Yet, strange as it seems, this epithet *intactus* has been quoted and urged for proof that the Britons were never touched by Augustus among those writers who believe the "long oblivion" supposed by Tacitus, in opposition to these repeated testimonies of the emperor's intimate friends and favourite authors, Virgil and Horace, with whom he was in constant communion or correspondence until their respective deaths in the twelfth and twenty-third years of his empire, for Virgil died in U.C. 735 = A.C. 19, and Horace in U.C. 746 = A.C. 8.

Among the other poets of the Augustan age frequent notices of Britain and the Britons occur; some of which may indeed be understood as referring to Julius Cæsar, and derived from the knowledge of our island which he imparted to the Romans. Especially this must be the case with Catullus, whose thirtieth *carmen* is addressed to "Cæsar" in gross terms; but the allusions clearly desig-

nate Julius the first Emperor (*imperator unice*) rather than Octavianus, the second. Beside that example, in two other of his poems are named "the horrible and farthest Britons," and "*Britains*" (*Britannias*) plurally, as he plurally designates the different divisions of Syria, "Syrias." These passages only prove that Britain was not forgotten.

In Tibullus is a remarkable poem, addressed "Ad Messalam," that is, to Marcus Messala Corvinus, who was Consul with Octavianus (before he was Emperor) in the early part of the year U.C. 723, in which year the battle of Actium was fought. Beside those four lines, which are quoted in the meagre extracts of the Augustan Poets, among the "Excerpta de Britannia," in our great national work the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*,[a] the whole context ought to be read in order to understand the sense of the expression "*invictus* Romano Marte *Britannus*." Surely Julius had invaded our island twenty-three or twenty-four years before; and, whatever credit or effects be attributed to his victories here, the poet can only be understood comparatively as meaning that not the whole island had been subjugated to the Romans at that time; wherefore he says,—

> Te manet *invictus* Romano marte *Britannus*,
> Teque interjecto mundi pars altera sole;

signifying that further conquests awaited the Consul, (and of course his colleague Octavianus,) in Britain, in Africa, and in various parts of the East. The British hounds, celebrated as expensive and valuable for hunting, by Gratius Faliscus, and the "green" or rather "*sea-blue* Britons" (*virides . . . . scilicet æquoreos . . . Britannos*,) in two places of Ovid's poems, if they directly teach us little, yet afford additional evidence that Britain was *never* "*forgotten*" by the Romans, in peace or war, as the moderns have been induced to believe it to have been forgotten, on the authority of a casual expression of Cornelius Tacitus, written a century after the period to which he refers.

But there is somewhat more to the purpose in Propertius; who, addressing "Mæcenas, the envied hope of our youth, and a just glory to my (the poet's) life and death," begs of him to visit his (the poet's) tomb, and even to stop or turn aside *his carved British chariot* for that purpose."

> Si te forte meo ducet via proxima busto,
> *Esseda* cælatis siste *Britanna* jugis.[b]

The greatest Roman orator and epistolographer had jocularly recommended his

[a] 1849, folio, pp. xxxviii-ix.

[b] *Eleg.* xi. 1.

friend Trebatius when he was with Julius in Britain, that if it were true that no gold or silver could be got there, he should "take some *British essedum* and come home."[a] But here, in Propertius, we find the actual adoption of the British car in Rome itself *under Augustus*, by the Emperor's fashionable friend Mæcenas, the patron of the Augustan bards. This, I apprehend, was *after* the second Emperor's expedition, other fruits of which are already described in the words of the commentator Servius; and it is confirmed by a passage quoted by Suetonius from a letter of the Emperor Augustus, who used to ride in one himself:—"Verba ipsius ex epistolis sunt, *Nos in essedo panem et palmulas gustavimus.*"[b]

There are three other passages in the Elegies of Propertius, in one of which he merely alludes to a vicious practice of imitating the stained or painted Britons (*infectos demens imitare Britannos*).[c] In another he speaks of the perils to which adventurous Romans exposed themselves, "Seu pedibus *Parthos* sequimur, seu classe *Britannos*,"[d] in expeditions by land or sea; where again we find these two nations, against which Augustus had expeditions, coupled together by this poet, as by his contemporary Virgil.

But in a fourth passage of Propertius, where a Roman wife is supposed to mourn her husband who was absent on a distant military expedition, the poet suggests that, in the very time of Augustus himself, both eastern and western nations *had lately seen* the Roman soldier.

> Te modo viderunt iteratos *Bactra* per ortus,
> Te modo munito *Sericus* hostis equo;
> *Hibernique Getæ*, pictoque *Britannia* curru.
> (Eleg. iv. 3, 7-9.)

She complains, "the northern Getæ and Britain (*i. e.* Britons) in painted chariot have lately seen thee; while I see nothing of thee, by night or by day, and constantly am consulting the painted maps, to contemplate the courses of the rivers and seats of war in which thy campaigns lie, and the direction of the wind thence to Italy." This is a good proof of the state of geography in the reign of Augustus, when private persons were able to study maps of the world, or at least of distant countries, so as to ascertain their respective positions and their bearings from Rome.

It was this exact kind of geographic knowledge which caused the choice of so remote a place as *Ancyra* to be the site of a temple to Augustus, where the public

[a] Cicero *ad Familiares*, apud *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* p. lxxxvii.
[b] Suet. *in vita Augusti*, c. 76.
[c] Propert. *Eleg.* xi. 14.
[d] *Ibid.* xi. 20.

acts and memorials of his reign should be publicly inscribed and preserved. Let us therefore turn to that monument, and inquire into the autobiographic memoirs of Augustus himself; not indeed the commentaries of his life, which he brought down to the Cantabrian war, in the sixth year of his empire and thirty-eighth of his age (Suetonius, de vita Aug. c. 85), for they have perished, but the fragments which remain of his grand bilingual inscription at Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, in Asia Minor, commonly called the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, which was first published among the notes of Andreas Schottus upon Aurelius Victor, at Antwerp, 1579, 8vo.; and since, more or less completely, in numerous works[a] down to the present time. The following are portions of some extracted, and standing foremost in the collection of "Inscriptions" published in our national *Monumenta* before quoted.[b] Laying aside the capital letters, the Greek text stands thus, with supplements derived from comparison with the Latin:—

Προς εμε ικεται κατεφυγον Βασιλεις,
Παρθων μεν Τειριδατης, και μετεπειτα
Φραατης, Βασιλεως Φρα[ατου υιος, Μηδων
δ]ε Αρτα . . . . .
. . . Βρεταν]νων Δομ[νων Βε]λλαυνος [τε]
και Τ[ιμ . . . . . ,

The Latin text stands thus, as far as it can now be read or filled up:—

Ad me supplices confugerunt Reges Partho-
rum Tiridates et postea Phrates, Regis
Phratis filius, Medorum Arta . . . . .
Reges Britannorum Damno, Bellaunus-
que et Tim . . . . . .

"To me," says Augustus, in this his autobiographic monument, "Kings have fled as suppliants;—of the *Parthians*, Tiridates, and afterwards Phraates, son of King Phraates; of the *Medes*, Arta . . . . .; *Kings of the Britons*, Damno and Bellaunus and Tim . . . . ." Here the Greek text and the Latin text are both broken, but *Cimbri*, *Marcomani*, and *Parthians* follow in the record. With all these nations Augustus had wars, and their *flight* can be reasonably understood only as that of submission, the flight of "suppliants" submitting to the superior force of the Roman arms wielded by the Emperor Augustus.

[a] See an ample notice of the editions in *Saxii Onomasticon Literarium.* (Traj. ad Rhenum, 1775, 8vo.) i. 205–8, under A.D. 15.) [See also Zell's Delectus Inscriptionum Romanarum, pp. 358—364.]

[b] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. cvi.

To what event in that Emperor's reign can the flight and submission of those British kings refer named "Damno, Bellaunus, and Tim . . . ." (as the monument imperfectly records the last name), but to that expedition which Dio Cassius mentions in the following passages, as extracted and translated in the often-quoted *Monumenta*, and dated under the years B.C. 35, 32, 27, and 26? By them it appears that in the year B.C. 26 ambassadors were sent from the Britons to Augustus in Gaul, with whom he made peace; so that perhaps his personal presence to command and complete the expedition which he had sent became needless, unless one expression (*πεπεραιωμένων*) should receive greater force than (as I think) it admits or requires.

"But he [Augustus], with a zeal like to that of his father [Julius], purposing to lead an expedition into Britain, and having already proceeded into Gaul, after that winter in which Antonius the second time and Lucius Libo were consuls, some of the recently subdued nations . . . . . revolted." [a]

"To be trodden under foot [said Augustus] by an Egyptian woman . . . . would be unworthy of us, who have vanquished the Gauls . . . . and passed over to Britain." [b] The word "us" seems to refer to the Romans generally under Julius.

"For who would put in competition [with my abandonment of the monarchy] the conquest of Gaul . . . . or again Pharnaces, or Juba, or Phraates, or the expedition into Britain?" [c] This may refer either to the past invasion by Julius or that which was contemplated by Augustus.

"Augustus . . . . set forth with the intention of making war against Britain, but having come into Gaul he there continued awhile, for they [the Britons] deemed it expedient to send an embassy to him." [d]

"But Augustus, when about to war against Britain, since they would not enter into treaty," (or rather "would not acknowledge," *i.e.* his authority or demands,) "was withholden by the revolt of the Salassi." [e]

Here the principal expressions in the last three sentences quoted from the Greek historian are, *τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς στρατείαν . . . . ἐξώρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων . . . . ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι οἱ ἐδόκουν . . . . Τόν τε Λύγουστον ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν (ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠθέλησαν ὁμολογῆσαι) στρατευσείοντα.* Hence it is plain that an armed force or military expedition was actually prepared by Augustus, and this event is expressed by Fabricius thus, under the year of the Emperor's life, 36;

[a] Dio Cassius, xlix. 38, A.C. 35.
[b] *Ibid.* l. 24. A.C. 32.
[c] *Ibid.* liii. 7, A.C. 27.
[d] *Ibid.* liii. 22, A.C. 27.
[e] *Ibid.* liii. 25, A.C. 26.

of the city, 727; B.C. 27; the Julian year, 19; year of his imperial reign, "3," an obvious misprint for 4:—"Profectus in Gallias, bellum in Britanniam translaturus. *Dio*, p. 512."[a]

The fruits of this expedition were actually brought to Rome, in the shape (at least) of prisoners of war and of *esseda;* for if hostages only were obtained by Augustus from the "suppliant kings," he could not have disposed of them by *donation* to serve as slaves in the Roman theatres. The special knowledge of the remarkable fact that he did so is more likely to have been retained among the critics and commentators or literary historians of Rome, and so known to Servius, than to political historians and biographers. Hence I rely on the testimony of the learned, judicious, curious, and deeply read Maurus Servius Honoratus, for preserving to us this interesting and scarcely known fragment of Romano-British history. Nor can I believe but that the subject would have received the attention of British antiquaries earlier, if Camden had not in 1600, in the fifth edition of his "Britannia," adopted the supercilious and contemptuous rejection of this testimony which came from the pen of Isaac Casaubon (in his Animadversions upon Suetonius, see Ed. 1605, 4to. p. 258,), or if the passage of Servius which I have now prominently brought to the notice of this Society had not been unaccountably omitted in the collection of *Excerpta de Britannia* from classic authors already referred to in the course of this paper. Henceforth it must, I humbly conceive, constitute the substance of another "undeservedly neglected" portion, or *omitted chapter*, of our British history.[b]

[a] Fabricii Chronographia Augusti, pp. 40, 41. [A further allusion to an expedition undertaken by Augustus against Britain is to be found in Xiphilinus' Epitome of Dio Cassius, *lib.* lxii. It is contained in a speech of Boadicea (or Bunduica, as Dio calls her,) to her army, in which she says, "We have been ourselves the cause of all these evils in permitting them (*i.e.* the Romans) at the beginning to land on this island, and not straightway driving them away as we did Julius Cæsar, in not making the very attempt to sail hither terrible, even at a distance from our shores, as we did to Augustus and Caius Caligula."

Ἡμεῖς δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τούτων αἴτιοι (ὥς γε τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν) γεγόναμεν, οἵτινες αὐτοῖς ἐπιβῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς νήσου ἐπιτρέψαμεν, καὶ οὐ παραχρῆμα αὐτοὺς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν Ἰούλιον ἐκεῖνον, ἐξηλάσαμεν, οἵτινες οὐ πόρρωθεν σφίσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ καὶ τῷ Γαΐῳ τῷ Καλίγολᾳ, φοβερὸν τὸ πειράσαι τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιήσαμεν.—Xiphilin. lib. lxii.

It is possible that Propertius (quoted in the text) alludes to this, when he says,

"Seu pedibus Parthos
"Sequimur, seu classe Britannos, &c."]

[b] Allusion is here made to the "Neglected fact in English History," for which we are indebted to our learned and sagacious Fellow, H. C. Coote, Esq. published in 1864, 8vo.

VI.—*Further Observations on the Expedition of the Emperor Augustus into Britain.* *By* William Henry Black, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*

Read March 16th, 1871.

The evidence of an important fact which I have lately made known to the Society of Antiquaries, bridging over (as it does) a whole century of our unwritten history, consists principally in the direct and positive assertion of it by the ancient commentator and critic, Servius; and the only objection that I have heard, publicly or privately, against the veracity of his statement, and the consequent view that I have taken of those passages in the Augustan Poets which relate to Britain, amounts to this, that we are required thereby to impugn or reject the opinions of two respectable historians more ancient than the commentator, namely, Cornelius Tacitus and Suetonius Tranquillus. I have thought proper therefore to vindicate in this second paper the authority of Servius, against the negative opinions of those other Roman writers, and their numerous followers.

First then, with respect to Cornelius Tacitus, I have already shown, by the constant and emphatic evidence of the Augustan Poets, that his idea of "*a long oblivion of Britain*" between the Emperors Julius and Claudius was a mistake. But this is not his only error, for he has erred in other material respects concerning Britain, so that his opinions may be impugned, without calling in question any of his statements of *facts*, which were strictly within the compass of his knowledge or the scope of his narrative, in dealing with the life of his father-in-law, Julius Agricola, whose daughter was married to the biographer (then a young man) just before her father's appointment to the command of military affairs in Britain in the reign of Nero.[a]

After the mention of this autobiographic fact, the biographer proceeds briefly to describe Britain, not in derogation of those authors whose care and abilities had been employed in writing of it, but (as he says) because "*then first* it was *perdomita*, fully subdued," he intended to make a credible relation "*rerum fide tradentur*." Having described the shape of Britain, which Livius and Fabius Rusticus had compared to "an oblong shield (*scutula*) or to a two-edged

[a] *Vita Agricolæ*, c. 9.

axe-head,"[a] he says that the northern shore or coast of Caledonia was sailed around by the Roman fleet, which none would be disposed to deny; but he adds an opinion. The exact words are, "Hanc oram novissimi maris *tunc primum* Romana classis circumvecta *insulam* esse Britanniam adfirmavit." This shore of the last-mentioned sea (which he had called the *vasto atque aperto mari* bounding the northern parts of Britain,) the Roman fleet, having *then first* been carried around, affirmed Britain to be an island." Thus he ascribes the first ascertaining of this geographical fact to the time of the administration of Agricola, whereas Aristotle and all classic antiquity had well known that Britain was an island long before. Strabo and the writers quoted by him in the reign of Augustus had largely treated of its insular nature. Julius Cæsar had described our island in exact and very ample terms, of which the principal are these: "The island is by nature three-sided (*triquetra*), of which one side is against Gaul. Of this side the one angle which is toward *Cantium*, whither almost all ships from Gaul go, is toward the rising sun: the lower [angle] looks to the south. This side contains about 500 miles. The other trends toward Spain and the setting sun: its length, in the opinion of certain persons, is 700 miles. * * * * The third is against the north, to which no land is opposite, but the angle of that side looks most toward Germany, and it is thought to be 800 miles in length. So all the island is in circuit 2,000 miles."[b]

In the same breath the biographer of Agricola makes a second mistake by adding that the Roman fleet "likewise found and subdued the islands *unknown to that* time, which they call the *Oreades*." But Eutropius, Orosius, Eusebius, Cassiodorus, Nennius, Beda, and others declare that the Emperor Claudius conquered the Orkneys soon after his own expedition and triumph, but long before the time of Agricola.[c]

The biographer goes on to make a third and most glaring blunder when he says, "*Dispecta est et Thule, quam hactenus nix et hiems abdebat.* Thule was looked at (or discovered), which hitherto snow and winter had hidden." He says also that the sea was slow and difficult for rowers, and there were no winds to carry them, and the want of wind he ascribes to the rarity of land and of mountains in those parts. Hence it is probable that some of the flat and sandy parts of the Shetland isles may have been seen beyond the Orkneys, and mistaken

[a] See the explanation of *bipennis*, by Servius, p. 677.

[b] Cæsar *de Bell. Gall.* lib. v. c. 13.

[c] See the authorities referred to in Sir Thomas Hardy's Chronological Abstract, prefixed to the *Monumenta*, p. 135.

for *Thule:* for, if the *Thule* of the Greek geographers, through which they assert that the arctic circle passes, had been seen, what could they have perceived more remarkable than the snowy mountains and smoking volcano of Iceland?

From these passages I infer that the worthy and excellent Roman historian, whose general truthfulness cannot be too much commended, was deficient in historical geography, and so we may say of him "aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus." When therefore he tells us that Britain had been *forgotten* between Julius and Claudius, and that Claudius was "the *author* of the work" of mastering Britain, I answer that it had been as entirely subdued by the Romans before the time of Claudius as it had been found and known to be an island before the time of Agricola.

The next author, Suetonius, it must be remembered, was a personal biographer of emperors and learned men, not a regular historian. For who can make out the series of public events which constitutes regular history from his pages? As he is silent about Britain under Augustus, so is he silent about many other great events of his reign, especially his foreign wars. Britain was diligently dragged into public notice by Claudius, whose only fame was cheaply acquired by a rapid and easy reduction of the island, such as could never have been effected without previous occupation, and the existence of Roman garrisons here, originally established by Julius Cæsar himself among the Trinobantes (probably at Maldon or in London); for so I have always inferred from his own words, "Trinobantibus defensis, atque ab omni militum injuria prohibitis."[a] Suetonius was a contemporary and friend of Tacitus; from whom he seems to have obtained the opinion expressed in his own Life of Claudius, to which no such weight is to be ascribed as to overbalance the positive and particular testimony of historical facts to the contrary.

Nevertheless, it is on the authority of the now controverted passages of these two biographers that the age of the elegant Latin geographer, Pomponius Mela, is commonly assigned to the reign of Claudius. Thus, by Saxius, he is placed between the years 48 and 49; by the late Mr. Petrie, and by Sir Thomas Hardy, he is said to have "flourished A.D. 45."[b] They and preceding critics rely on a single passage in his chapter of "Outer Spain, and the Islands of the Northern Ocean," wherein he says: "What Britain is, and what men it produceth, shall soon be told in more certain and ascertained manner. For, so long closed, behold! *the Greatest of Princes* openeth it;

[a] Cæsar *de Bell. Gall.* lib. v. c. 21. [b] *Saxii Onom. Lit.* i. 242—3; *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* pp. 50, vii.

not only *the Conqueror of nations unsubdued*, but also *unknown, before him;* the truth of whose own actions, as he hath attempted them in war, so he, about to declare, carrieth in triumph. *Quippe tamdiu clausam aperit ecce Principum Maximus, nec indomitarum modo ante se, verum ignotarum quoque gentium Victor, propriarum rerum fidem ut bello affectavit, ita triumpho declaraturus portat.*"[a] The great critic Gerard John Vossius approved the judgment of certain authors whom he names, and by whom Pomponius had been ascribed to the times of Claudius, on the credit of this passage. But Vossius also relied upon the mention of Cornelius Nepos by Pomponius, and of the citation of the latter by Pliny the Elder, in proof of that chronological position; adding that, although some thought that Pomponius alluded to the Emperor Julius, by the title of *Principum Maximus*, yet Julius never triumphed over Britain, but Claudius did. To me, however, the title "Greatest of Princes" seems utterly inapplicable to Claudius, but to be, without flattery, most applicable to Augustus, whose actual triumph over Britain is mentioned thus by Servius, "propter Britannorum triumphum."[b] The pageants that were in preparation when Pomponius wrote to illustrate the Emperor's conquests well agree with what Virgil mentioned and Servius his commentator afterward explained in relation to Augustus, in the passage which was unaccountably overlooked by writers and collectors on this subject, until I lately brought it to light. I have (since my former paper) carefully reviewed the whole treatise of Pomponius, and I find his geography consistent with the early part of the reign of Augustus only, without allusion to any fact or mention of any name or changed name later than the year to which that Emperor's British expedition was assigned in my former paper, viz. A.C. 27. Even the division of Italy into regions and of Gaul into four provinces or parts under Augustus was unknown to Mela, who describes them as they were in the time of Julius Cæsar. "Cornelius Nepos" (or simply "Nepos") is twice quoted by Mela, first, as a writer "*more recent* in authority" than Homer and the philosophers who held that all the earth was surrounded by sea, and as maintaining his opinion by a fact related by Q. Metellus Celer, that certain Indians had been driven by tempests until they landed on the shores of Germany (Mela, iii. 50). Secondly, Nepos is quoted as relating that "in the times of *our grandfathers*" one Eudoxus had gone out of the Arabian Gulf and landed at Cadiz (Mela, iii. 9).

Both these quotations are consistent with the contemporaneity of the authors, Nepos and Mela, in the time of Augustus, but the latter quotation is the more convincing when compared with the same passages of Nepos, quoted by Pliny.

[a] *Pomp. Mela*, iii. 6.

[b] Edit. 1620, p. 126.

MELA'S QUOTATIONS.

"Et Eudoxus quidam, *avorum nostrorum temporibus*, cum Lathurum Regem Alexandriæ profugerat, (ut Nepos affirmat,) Gades usque pervectus est." (*Geogr.* iii. 9, ed. Jac. Gronovii, 1696, 8vo.; ed. Abr. Gronovii, 1748, 8vo.)

"Sed præter physicos, Homerumque, qui universum orbem mari circumfusum esse dixerunt, Cornelius Nepos, ut recentior auctor, ita certior: testem autem rei Q. Metellum Celerem adjicit, eumque ita retulisse commemorat: Cum Galliis Proconsule præesset, Indos quosdam a Rege Bætorum sibi dono datos, unde in eas terras devenissent requirendo, cognosse vi tempestatum ex Indicis æquoribus abreptos, emensosque quæ intererant, tandem in Germaniæ litora exiisse." (*Geogr.* iii. 5, *ibid.*)

PLINY'S QUOTATIONS.

"Præterea Nepos Cornelius auctor est, Eudoxum quemdam *sua ætate*, cum Lathurum Regem fugeret, Arabico sinu egressum, Gades usque pervectum: multoque ante eum Cælius Antipater, vidisse se, qui navigavisset ex Hispania in Ethiopiam commercii gratia. Idem Nepos, de septemtrionali circuitu tradit Quinto Metello Celeri, L. Afranii in Consulatu collegæ, sed tum Galliæ Proconsuli, Indos a Rege Suevorum dono datos, qui ex India commercii causa navigantes tempestatibus essent in Germaniam abrepti." (*Hist. Naturalis* ii. 67, *ed. Harduini*, 1741, *fol.*)

The latter part of Pliny's text corrects a chronological error in the former part of it. For Nepos was at least contemporary with or later than the Consuls whom he has named. Their consulate was in U.C. 694 = A.C. 60, when the Emperor Octavianus was only three years old. But Lathurus, better known as Ptolemæus Soter, began to reign in A.C. 116, and therefore not in the time of Nepos. Hence Pliny's expression *sua ætate* is inapplicable to Eudoxus by Nepos, and cannot have been derived from that author's words. The erroneous phrase, however, proves that the words used by Mela in denoting the time when Eudoxus made his voyage, *avorum nostrorum temporibus*, were not part of the text of Nepos (or they would have been quoted by Pliny), but were used by Mela himself to denote the age of Eudoxus in relation both to himself the quoter and to the author quoted—for Nepos wrote the life of Titus Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero and contemporary of young Octavianus, and so was contemporary with the latter.[a] But Ptolemæus Soter ceased his second reign fifty-one years before the first imperial year of Octavianus Augustus, according to the canon of Ptolemy.[b] Well, then, might it have been said by Mela, of himself and Nepos, that the event took place "in the times of our grandfathers," if they were strictly contemporary with each other; but certainly this could not have been truly said if

[a] Eusebius, in his Chronicle, as translated by Hieronymus, places Nepos in the first year of the 185th Olympiad, in the 4th year of Octavianus's government, before he was Emperor.

[b] Calvisii *Chronologia*, 1650, fol. p. 79.

Mela lived, as is commonly supposed, in the reign of Claudius. Indeed there is a long account of Eudoxus (borrowed from Heraclides of Pontus) in the second book of the Geography of Strabo, who lived in the time of Augustus, and repeatedly mentions this emperor. By that account the exploratory voyages of Eudoxus took place in the reign of Ptolemæus Evergetes II., and after the succession of Cleopatra and her son,[a] that is, about 116 years before the Christian era, and about 85 years before the battle of Actium, and in times when the grandfathers and great-grandfathers of Nepos and Mela might have lived.

Therefore the testimony of Pomponius Mela relates to the Emperor Augustus, but not to Claudius; of whom it never could be said that he was "the Conqueror of nations unsubdued, and *even unknown* before him." These words, truly applicable to Augustus, exactly agree with the praises lavished on him by the poets and writers of his time; whereas it is expressly affirmed by Suetonius, in that very passage of his Life of Claudius which I have partly controverted, that he (Claudius) undertook *only one* expedition, and that moderate (or comparatively small) *Expeditionem unam omnino suscepit, eamque modicam*," meaning the invasion of Britain, which he proceeds to describe in the same paragraph.[b] It is the only public act of Claudius mentioned by Eutropius, whom I now quote, because I had accidently omitted, in my former paper, to say that he agreed in opinion with the two Roman biographers in saying of Britain that "none of the Romans after Julius Cæsar had touched (or reached) it;" yet he asserted, in opposition to Cornelius Tacitus, that "certain islands also situate beyond Britain, in the ocean, he (Claudius) added to the Roman empire, which are called *Orcades*."[c] This is one of the testimonies already referred to in this paper as contradicting the opinion of Agricola's partial son-in-law upon the conquest of the Orkneys. My conclusion, immediately after a very careful re-examination of Pomponius Mela's work, was expressed in this form: "that it was written under Augustus, after the end of the Spanish war, in his fifth and sixth years, which followed the expedition into Britain in his fourth year, that is, in U.C. 727, 728, 729,=A.C. 29, 28, 27. No such geography could have been written by a reading and knowing man after that time." I therefore now claim this elegant writer as an additional witness with Servius, in explaining the words of Virgil, Horace, and other Augustan poets, and thus filling up a lamentable gap in our British history.

[a] Strabo, ii. c. 3, ed. Casauboni, 1587, fol. pp. 67, 68; ed. 1707, fol. i. 155–8.

[b] Suetonius in Claudio, c. 17.

[c] Eutropius, vii. 13.

Eutropius, writing of the Emperor Julius, says that he conquered the Britons, and, "having taken hostages, he made them stipendiaries, *stipendiarios fecit.*" (Hist. vi. 17.) The like is attributed to Augustus by our Nennius,[a] in a badly constructed sentence, containing these words: "tenente Octaviano monarchiam totius mundi, et *censum* a Britannia ipse solus accepit, ut Virgilius,—

Purpurea intexti tollant aulæa Britanni.

The same Virgilian verse is quoted by our Henry of Huntingdon, who makes the same statement, attributing the fact to the forty-second year of the empire of Augustus, which is wrong chronology; for Virgil, some years after he wrote that verse, died in the twelfth year of the *reign*, and forty-fourth year of the *age* of Augustus. These are his words: "Augustus, succeeding to Julius Cæsar, held the monarchy of the whole world. Now, he described the universal orb, and from Britain, as from other kingdoms, he took tribute, (*censum accepit*) as Virgil says: *Purpurea*," &c.[b] What Julius says of himself is,—"*Obsides imperat, et, quid in annos singulos vectigalis Populo Romano Britannia penderet, constituit.* He took hostages, and appointed what revenue Britain should pay every year to the Roman people."[c] Julius then constituted the yearly *vectigal*: Augustus took *census*. The former brought away hostages: the latter, as Servius declares, brought away captives. Both our own early historians identify the Virgilian verse, on which Servius commented historically, as applicable to the subjection of Britain in the reign of Augustus; and I take them to be additional witnesses (to some extent) of the fact related by Servius.

On the other hand, our historian the venerable Beda founded his own statement of the invasion by Claudius on Suetonius, whose words (or perhaps those of Jornandes) he imitated, without mentioning his name; saying of Britain, "Which neither before Julius Cæsar, nor after him, had any one dared to attack; and there, without any battle and blood, within a very few days he received surrender of most part of the island."[d] Beda therefore knew nothing of Augustus: for he was an Anglo-Saxon, while Nennius was a Briton, and had the traditions of the island, which were unknown to Beda. The testimony of the latter resolves itself into the negative opinion of Suetonius, who nevertheless had no personal knowledge of the matter.

But there is a passage in Strabo, the Greek geographer, whom I have already

[a] Nennii Historia, inter *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* p. 59.

[b] Henrici Huntend. *Historia, Ibid.* p. 697.

[c] Cæsar *de Bell. Gall.* lib. v. c. 22.

[d] Beda, inter *Mon. Hist. Brit.* pp. 85, 111.

quoted as contemporary with Augustus,[a] which confirms the statement already quoted from Dio Cassius, and the monument of Augustus at Ancyra, in a sense favorable to the testimony of Servius. Having described Britain, and mentioned the expedition of Julius (as he says), who "brought away hostages, and slaves, and much other booty," Strabo proceeds thus:—"*At the present time*, however, *some of the Princes* (δυναστῶν) *there having, by their embassies and services gained the friendship of Cæsar Augustus*, have dedicated offerings in the Capitol; and have brought *the whole island* into a state little short of intimate union with the Romans. They bear moderate *taxes* (τέλη), laid both on what things are exported thence into Gaul and also what are imported from the latter country. These are ivory bracelets, and necklaces, amber, and vessels of glass, and such mean merchandize; so that the island needs not a garrison, for it would require at least one legion and some cavalry to enforce *tribute* (φόρους) from them; and the total expenditure for the army would be equal to *the additional revenue* (τοῖς προσφερομένοις χρήμασιν): for, if a *tribute* were levied, of necessity the imposts must be diminished, and at the same time some dangers would be incurred, as force must be employed."[b]

This passage is explained by an earlier one in the same author's second book, which shows that the "taxes" in question were actually received by the Romans, in the time of Augustus and Tiberius (if we may suppose with Saxius that Strabo wrote this part of his work in an early year of the latter emperor); for, treating of the comparative unimportance of those parts of the world which lay too far toward the south or north of the temperate zone, he considered that for "any national benefit, it would profit nothing to know such countries and their inhabitants; more especially if they dwell in such islands as, from want of intercourse, could neither injure nor benefit us." Which opinion he illustrates by facts relative to Britain that have been overlooked by historic writers, and are most applicable to my argument, thus:—"For the Romans, having the power to possess Britain, held it in contempt, they seeing that not a single apprehension could arise from the Britons, as they are incapable of coming over to molest us; nor could any great benefit accrue from holding it; *far more would seem now to be produced from imposts*" (ἐκ τῶν τέλων) "*than the tribute*

[a] Petrie makes him flourish in "A.C. 30." Born about A.C. 54, says Sir Thomas Hardy (*Monumenta*, pp. 50, iii.) Saxius dates Strabo's work in A.D. 19, = 5 Tiberii, relying on a passage in his fourth book.

[b] Translation somewhat corrected from that printed with portions of the Greek text of Strabo, in the *Monumenta*, p. vii. Cf. Strabonis Geogr. lib. iv. c. 5, ed. 1587, p. 138; ed. 1707, i. 306-7.

(ὁ φόρος) *can supply,*[a] deducting the expense of the soldiery which would be required to garrison the island, and to collect its tribute. And further, much inconvenience would be occasioned by the other surrounding isles."[b]

I have quoted these passages to show that, whether they confirm or not the history of Augustus preserved by Servius, they cannot be quoted against him, without oppugning Virgil and the other Augustan poets; while, nevertheless, they most distinctly and completely disprove the "long oblivion of Britain," supposed by Cornelius Tacitus, and the negative declaration of Suetonius, by which our history has been for ages corrupted. For these passages contain the testimony of an accurate and a profound observer, and a scrupulous and unimpeachable man of science who lived at the time, who had actually "seen British youths at Rome, taller by half a foot than the tallest man there;" who had noticed the awkwardness of their lower limbs;[c] and who must have died long before the accession of Claudius or even of Caligula. Must all this testimony of him and others be suppressed, and kept out of our history, to gratify an implicit faith in the biographers of Claudius and Agricola, and to maintain their sole credit? I think differently; and I claim Strabo, then, as an independent and most ancient witness in favour of the credibility of Servius.

Pliny the elder may also be cited to support the idea of Roman occupation of, or communication with, Britain, in the interval of the alleged "oblivion." For, writing of cherries, he says that "they were not in Italy before L. Lucullus brought them from Pontus, in U.C. 680; and in 120 years they had crossed the ocean into Britain."[d] That is, they were actually in Britain in or before the year U.C. 800 = A.D. 47, which is the year of the subjection of Britain by Vespasianus under Claudius;[e] where they were found growing (more probably than first introduced) by the Roman soldiers then employed in reducing the island.

Another witness seems to be Jornandes, an historical writer of the sixth century, who says that "The Germans, Gauls, Britons (*Britones*), Spaniards, after long service revolting, Augustus by himself coming to them *(per se ipse Augustus accedens)* forced them to serve again, and to live by the Roman laws."[f] Yet this testimony is rendered uncertain by another passage, where the writer

[a] *i.e.* the land tax.

[b] Translation as before, *Monumenta*, p. 5. Cf. Strabonis *Geogr.* lib. iv. c. 5, ed. 1587, p. 79; ed. 1707, i. 176. [Export and import duties imply a custom house (*portus*), which itself implies a territory.]

[c] *Ibid. Mon.* pp. vi. vii. Strabo, lib. iv. c. 5.

[d] Plin. Hist. nat. xv. 25, 30.

[e] *Monumenta*, Chronological Abstract, p. 131.

[f] *Ibid. Excerpta*, p. ix.

adopts the expressions of Suetonius respecting Claudius, ("*quam jam nemo ante Julium Cæsarem nec post eum quisquam adire ausus fuerat,*") so that it may be doubted whether the *Britones* of Jornandes were not the Bretons of Gaul, rather than the *Britanni* of this island. Beda, and many other writers, confound the two terms, which seem to have had distinct and several appropriations in earlier times.

I proceed now to examine the terms used by Servius, in attributing to Augustus the conquest of Britain, and in declaring his capture and disposal of prisoners of war, his triumph, and his employment of those captives *in the Roman theatres*. For these facts he does not cite any historian by name, but only says that Virgil's remarkable expressions were "according to *history*." To remove all doubt on the meaning and value of this phrase it is proper to observe that the learned commentator, though he abounds with historical and geographical information, rarely gives authority for it by name; but he states facts, or appeals to them, as if they were matter of public notoriety among well-informed Romans. Being professedly a grammarian, he quotes authors plentifully by name, for words, phrases, and matters of philology, grammar, or opinion, sometimes giving their sense, sometimes exact quotations from their writings; so much so, that scarcely any other writer has preserved more fragments of lost Roman authors, except perhaps Pliny, Gellius, Charisius, Priscian, and Isidorus. Thus we owe to him one fragment of the Law of the Twelve Tables, and many fragments of the lost works of Sallust, Cato, and Ennius. His mode of quotation is sometimes with the prefix *ut*, thus:—"Ut Ennius, ut Terentius, ut Salustius, ut Simmius, ut Tullius, ut Lucretius, ut Horatius, ut Hyginus, ut Varro, ut Lucanus, ut Juvenalis, ut Plautus;" or thus, "ut docet Livius, ut dicit Varro;" or, "sic Cicero, sic Salustius." Sometimes he puts the author's name alone; or he says, "quomodo Terentius, unde Horatius;" or with a preposition, "ut in Terentio," &c. But his use of the preposition *secundum*, as in the formula which I have undertaken to explain, is so common, that, in his commentary on the first book of the Æneid, are found all these examples, some of them occurring more than once:—"secundum Homerum," (also once "juxta Homerum,") "secundum Hesiodum,—Salustium,—Plinium,—Æmilium Macrum,—Probum,—Atteium alias Philologum,—Lucanum,—Tullium,—Varronem, —Lucretium." Elsewhere occur "secundum Ciceronem in Philippicis, p. 409; secundum Numæ legem, p. 464; Titianum in Chorographia, p. 323; Euripidem, p. 480; quosdam, p. 418; and, 'secundum alios,'" twice in one instance, at p. 431, of the edition of 1620, which alone I quote in this paper.

Various phrases also occur in Servius containing the same preposition. Thus he says, in one place, "Secundum *fortunam* dicimus, quod secundum *nos* est," p. 184; "Secundum artem *rhetoricam*," p. 218; "Secundum *præsentem usum*..., secundum autem *orthographiam*, ... secundum vero *euphoniam*," all three in one passage, p. 219; "Secundum *priscam consuetudinem*," p. 477; "Secundum *antiquum morem*," p. 488; "Secundum *antiquam licentiam*," p. 426. There is also a passage in his commentary on the first book of the Æneid, where "secundum *naturam*" is said to be "history," and "contra *naturam*" is called "fable," thus: "And it is to be known that there is this difference between *fable* and *argument*, that is, *history*; that *fable* is a thing said against nature, whether done or not done, as of Pasiphaë: *history* is whatsoever is said according to nature, *Historia est quidquid secundum naturam dicitur, sive factum, sive non factum*, whether stated positively or negatively, as of Phædra," (p. 191). Hence, afterward, where he explains the verse,—

Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,[a]

as relating to the Emperor Julius; he says, "Either this is said for praise (*in laudem*), or certainly it is according to history (*secundum historiam*). For indeed also he conquered the Britons, who are in the Ocean; and after his death, when funeral games were given by Augustus his adopted son, his star was seen in midday; whence is that,—"*Ecce Dionæi processit Cæsaris astrum*" (p. 196). In another place he says, on the words "manus inermes," that persons surrendering themselves, when conquered, "supplicate unarmed. Which thing is drawn from history (*tractum est de historia*)." Also, in the next sentence, "Sane per transitum *historiam* tetigit," (p. 210); and "Tangit namque, ut frequenter diximus, latenter *historiam*," (p. 263). So at p. 436, "De *historia* hoc traxit;" and at p. 417, "Ut solet, miscet *historiam*." Other forms are, "*Historia* autem hoc habet," p. 461; "*Historia* autem talis est," p. 544; "ut *Punica* testatur *historia*," p. 227; "Nomen hoc de *historia Romana* est: this name (Herminius) is from Roman history; for, with Cocles against the Tuscans, Lartius and Herminius stood and fought, at the time when the *Pons Sublicius* was broken," &c. p. 677. In one place he quotes history, naming Cato (whose lost books of *Origines* he often uses) thus: "*Secundum Catonem*, according to Cato, *the faith of history* has this, that Æneas came with his father to Italy," &c. Then, showing that Virgil departed from the historic statement, he says, it was done, "not through ignorance, but through poetic art," &c. "So all these things are feigned against this history, (*contra hanc historiam*,)" proceeding to state them.

[a] Virg. *Æneid*, 1. 287.

Servius therefore well knew the distinct bounds between truth and fiction; and he distinguishes between history proper, and books less properly called history, thus:—"Between history and annals is this difference: *History* is of those times which we either have seen or could see, called ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱστορεῖν, that is, to see. But *Annals* are of those years which our age hath not known. Whence Livy consists of Annals and of History. But they are licentiously confounded; as, in this place,[a] for *history* he hath said *annals*" (p. 202.) This, the learned Fellows will perceive, is the very distinction that had been made by Cornelius Tacitus, whose "Annals" precede his "History;" and they end where the latter begins, at the author's first entrance on public life. Again, SERVIUS says that the poetic art forbids too plainly to recite *history*, "ne aperte ponat *historiam*;" and that "Lucanus ought not to be reckoned in the number of the poets, because he seems to have composed *history*, not a poem" (p 203). Again, he says that "the infinitive mood for the indicative" (used in one place by Virgil) is a figure proper to historiographers; as Salustius, *Equitare, jocularі, cursu cum æqualibus certare*" (p. 237). Lastly, he says that "Among the ancients there was this sort of *history* (*historiæ hoc genus fuit*), that the elders indicated to their posterity the things done before them (*anteacta indicarent*)."

These grammatical details may to some appear unimportant; but, considering the magnitude of the fact, in its relation to our scanty antiquity, I have not thought it too much trouble thus to set beyond a doubt the meaning and (I may say) the gravity of the phrase *secundum historiam*, with which the most laborious, exact, and accomplished commentator among the ancient Romans thought fit to introduce a statement of fact, then only serving historically to explain an obscure part of his author's text, but now throwing a blaze of light on the darkest interval in the history of Britain.

[a] "Et vacet *annales* nostrorum audire laborum." (Virg. *Æneid*, l. 373.)

The very learned author of this and the preceding paper was already attacked by what proved to be a mortal illness, when, early in January 1872, the proof-sheets were at his request forwarded to him for revision. At the time of his death in April following his corrections had not proceeded beyond the first two sheets.

The footnotes inclosed in brackets [ ] have been added by Mr. H. C. Coote, who had, too late, called the author's attention to these additional illustrations.—C. S. P.

VII.—*A Description of the Chapel of Saint Erasmus in Westminster Abbey.* *Communicated by* J. T. Micklethwaite, *Esq.*

Read January 27, 1870.

The chapel of S. John Baptist, the north-western of the four polygonal chapels which surround the apse of Westminster Abbey, differs from the remaining three in that it is now entered, not by a door in the middle of the screen separating it from the ambulatory, but by a kind of vestibule cut through the northern of the two great piers which fill up the spaces between the last of the rectangular and the first of the polygonal chapels. It is to this vestibule that I wish to call attention, and in doing so I shall first describe it in its present condition, and then point out the various changes which it seems to have undergone, and endeavour to draw some conclusions as to its history and the uses to which it has been put.

The entrance to the vestibule from the ambulatory corresponds exactly in position with the tomb of the Princess Catherine on the south side of the church, and consists of a very beautiful doorway of early-perpendicular character, the label of which is stopped by two angels holding shields bearing respectively Quarterly:—France ancient and England, and S. Edward Confessor. These shields indicate the reign of Richard II., a date which is confirmed by the architectural detail.

On the east side of the doorway outside is an iron bracket with staples above and below it. This may have held a collecting-box, or possibly a *benitier;* I am inclined to think the former. Above the arch are painted the words "Sanctus Erasmus," in letters of the time of Henry VII. Remains of painting—flowers, chevrons, spirals, &c.—exist all over the doorway. And on the west jamb there is the outline of a late shield; but after a careful examination I have been unable to find any trace of a bearing upon it. Above the fourteenth-century doorway appears the early-English string which runs all round the interior of that part of the church rebuilt by Henry III. And over this again is a very rich perpen-

dicular niche, also an insertion, which I shall describe more particularly further on.

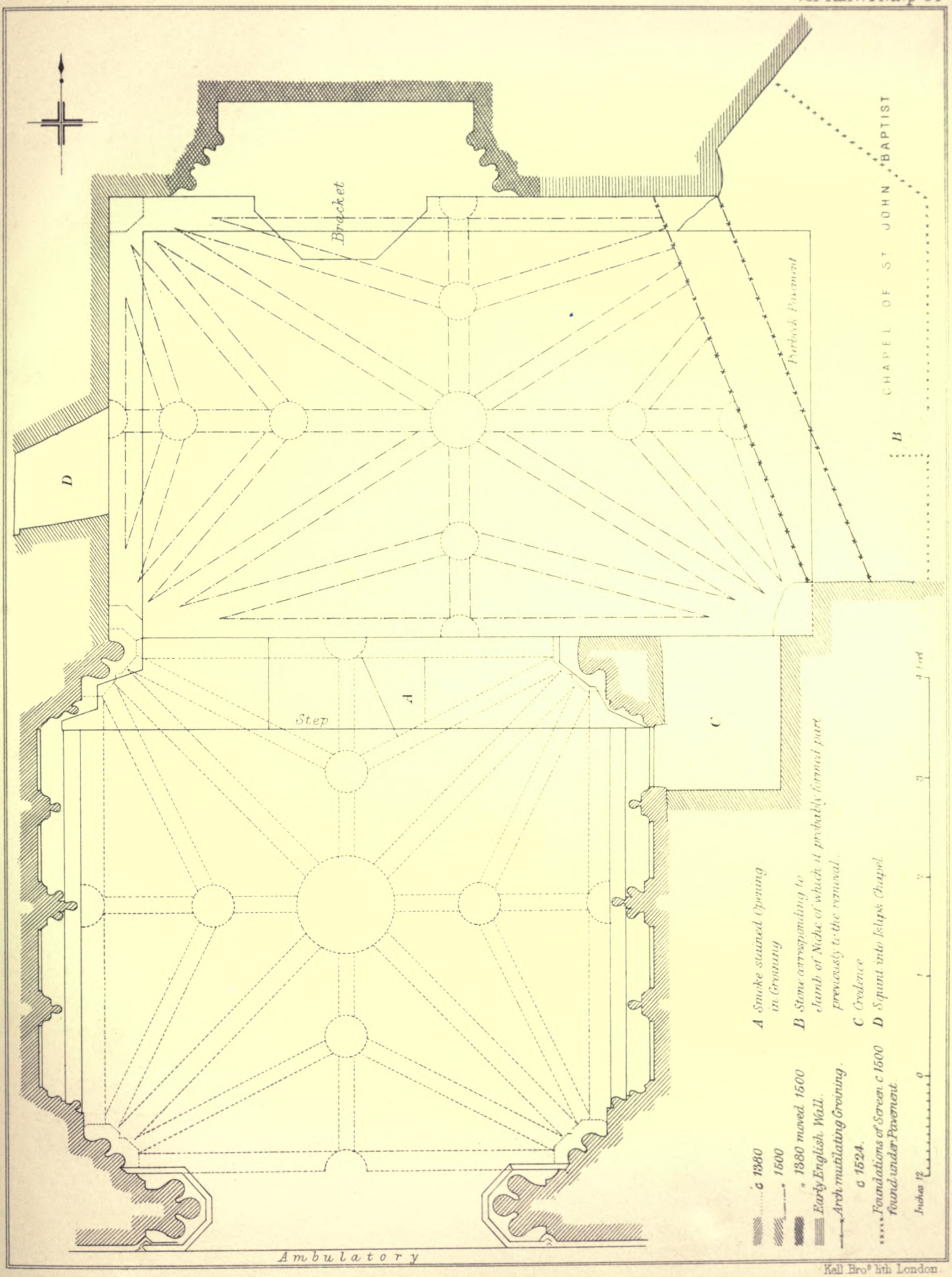
The arch is closed by a pair of low doors curiously divided down the middle of a panel, and surmounted[a] by a formidable double row of spikes with serrated edges. The upper part of the arch is also closely grilled. Passing through this doorway we come to a sort of lobby about five feet square, with groined roof and panelled walls, all evidently of the same date as the entrance. The central boss of the groining represents the Assumption, and those of the wall ribs are half figures of angels. In one cell a stone has been omitted, and, on examining the wall of the church above, I find a wooden peg, a line hung from which will pass through the opening thus left. The whole of the walls of this lobby are painted like the doorway, and the groining has stars on a white ground. The pavement is of Purbeck marble in triangles, eight of which in the middle are replaced by four seemingly modern stones. The walls are covered with small iron hooks, some arranged in rows and others dotted about irregularly. Some are also found in the cells of the groining.

An examination of the masonry leaves no doubt that originally the north side of this lobby was closed by a wall. But this is now removed, and, passing up a Purbeck marble step, itself an insertion, we enter the second division of the vestibule. This, like the first, is vaulted in one bay, but is much broader from west to east, and, viewed from within, the junction looks very clumsy. At the time of the alteration the north-eastern vaulting shaft of the fourteenth century-work was cut away, and its capital (or rather, I think, a new one inserted in place of it) is now supported by a shield, upon which is painted Argent, a cross gules, *I think*, between four uncertain objects. The groining of this second part is much inferior and looks at least a century later than that of the first, and the walls are plain instead of being panelled. But, strangely enough, on the north side is a large shallow niche, which is certainly of the same date as the first division. Below this is a bracket,[b] and on the west side is a squint from Islip's Chapel. This, though only nine inches broad, has had an iron bar up the middle of it; it is now closed on the outside. On the south is a kind of credence, which also opens into the east side of the earlier division, mutilating[c] the panelling in so doing. The walls are covered with a painted diaper. The

[a] The top rail of these doors is cased with thin sheet-iron.

[b] The lower part of the niche is mutilated apparently by the pulling out of a capping of this bracket.

[c] At this place the fourteenth century lining is seen to be seven inches thick.



Kell Bro.s lith London.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY, CHAPEL OF S.t ERASMUS.

groining has stars, and the mouldings of the niche are painted with spirals, &c., as in the first part. At the back of the niche is the outline of a figure, which has been secured at the shoulders by two iron hooks still remaining in the wall. Round the head is painted a circular nimbus, from which proceed long flamboyant rays filling up the top of the niche.

On the east spandril outside the niche is painted the White Hart[a] of Richard the Second, and below this a pattern of fleurs-de-lis, yellow on a blue ground, at regular intervals. This wall has been repainted at some time with a brown wash.

The groining is cut away diagonally towards the east by a clumsily-formed arch through which we now enter the Chapel of S. John Baptist. But the pavement which is of Purbeck triangles, like that of the earlier part, retains the rectangular form required for the completion of the groining.

The iron hooks mentioned as occurring in the first division are also found here, but are not so numerous, and seem arranged in no order. A few larger hooks are scattered about both parts, and on the west side near their junction is an iron eye projecting from the wall.

Such is this corner at the present time; but so many different features and dates of work crowded into so small a space seem to show that it was originally intended for some more important purpose than to be a mere vestibule to the larger chapel. And I now propose, whilst describing as nearly as they can now be ascertained, the various changes which the place has undergone, to point out what seems to me to have been its use in each successive condition.

Whether any hollow was left in the pier at this place when the *chevet* was built by Henry III. it is now impossible to say; but if there was it must have been entirely remodelled, when in the time of Richard II. the doorway and what I have called the first part of the vestibule was formed. This, as I have said, was certainly closed at the north, and I think I can show reason for believing that the niche at the end of the present passage, which, though it stands in masonry belonging apparently to the beginning of the sixteenth century, is obviously itself of earlier date, originally stood in the destroyed north wall. The place would then consist of a rectangular recess open only to the ambulatory, and with a niche opposite the entrance.

[a] This was first pointed out to me by my friend Mr. J. Langton Barnard, to whom I am indebted for the carefully measured plan (Plate II.) which accompanies this paper. I have since found it mentioned by Brayley. I cannot account for its being set here in the time of Henry VII. which seems to be the date of the painting.

The question naturally rises, "What was the object of its formation?" It has evidently been constructed with great care and is very elaborate in its details, and further, the formidable *chevaux de frise* protecting the entrance imply that some object, to which a high value was attached, was preserved within.*

I have not yet been able to ascertain whether there was any image specially venerated at Westminster. But so much is continually being discovered from documents concerning the Abbey, that if the question is raised I have little doubt it will shortly be shown that there was—as the reception of such an image seems to be the only purpose for which this recess can have been designed. We have still remaining the half doors over which the image in its niche could be seen from the ambulatory, whilst the close grillage filling up the whole of the open part of the arch protected not only the doubtless costly ornaments of the figure itself, but the numerous votive offerings, the little hooks for the suspension of which so thickly stud the walls; and, just before where the image must have stood, we see the opening in the groining even now stained with the smoke of the lamp which hung through it from the peg, yet to be found in the wall of the church above.

This recess seems to have remained as formed at the end of the fourteenth century until the beginning of the sixteenth. But leaving it for a time, let us see what connection can be traced between the history of the Abbey and the name of S. Erasmus, which now appears over the doorway. It will be remembered that in 1470, when the tide of fortune seemed to be turning in favour of the House of Lancaster, Elizabeth Woodville, the Queen of Edward IV., took sanctuary at Westminster and there gave birth to a son, afterwards Edward V. Widmore (who I think may be relied upon, though he gives but the vague authority of "instruments and papers") states that this Queen built a chapel dedicated to S. Erasmus, in the east part of the church, near to the chapel of S. Mary. And in 1478 the King settled upon the Abbey the manors of Cradley and Hagley, in Worcestershire, for two monks to pray for the souls of the King and Queen in the chapel of S. Erasmus, which the Queen had built. Widmore further states that this chapel, together with the adjoining and more important one of S. Mary, was pulled down to make room for the large new Lady Chapel of

* In the year 1378, one Robert Haule or Hawley was murdered in the choir of Westminster during High Mass. The affair created a great sensation at the time, and the church was closed for several months. As part of their penance the murderers paid the then large sum of £200 to the Abbey. Is it possible that this money was expended upon a costly image, set up as an expiatory offering; and that the recess we are considering was prepared for the reception of the image? The dates fit exactly.

Henry VII. But, although taken down, I believe that some of Queen Elizabeth's work still remains to us.

I have already mentioned the perpendicular niche over the entrance to the passage which is the subject of this paper. This is generally set down as Islip's work, because when seen from below the most conspicuous things about it are the name and rebuses of that abbot by which it is surrounded. But on a close inspection it is seen that the niche and tabernacle work are beautifully executed in alabaster, whilst Islip's badges, together with the cresting are in firestone and of very much inferior workmanship. The date of the alabaster work is fixed[a] by the occurrence of the *rose en soleil*, the badge of Edward IV., in the centres of the quatrefoils at the base of the niche. It seems probable that when the first chapel of S. Erasmus was pulled down Abbot Islip fixed upon this place for the site of an altar where the two monks might perform the stipulated services.[b] And having done so he set up over the entrance this niche, reserved from the destruction of the old chapel, probably not so much for its own merits as for those of the sculpture it contained. This is now unworthily represented by an ugly eighteenth-century tablet. One stone in the base of the niche seems to have been lost in the removal, and the deficiency is clumsily supplied in the same material as the cresting and other additions made by Islip. The whole has been enriched with gilding and a little colour, and along the base are the remains of an inscription which I have been unable satisfactorily to make out. Brayley reads it "herasmus Epi." If he is right the *h* is a small one, and a large ꝯ, possibly from the word "Martyr," can be deciphered.

When fitting this recess to its use as a chapel, Islip managed his alterations so as not to interfere with its original purpose. He took down the north wall of the fourteenth-century work and added beyond it a second vaulted compartment, replacing the image with its niche in such a position as to be seen from the ambulatory as before. The altar he placed so as to be scarcely visible from the outside, in a kind of bay-window projecting into the chapel of S. John Baptist at the place where we now enter that chapel. The south side of the window appears still to exist, but is hidden by the Kemble monument. As far as I can make out

[a] The similarity of detail between this niche and the reredos of the high altar fixes the date of the latter also.

[b] According to Nash's Worcestershire the Manors of Hagley and Cradley remained a very short time in the possession of the Abbey, they being returned to the family from whom they had been confiscated. "But," as Nash observes, "doubtless the religious had ample satisfaction made to them for this resumption."

it is similar to the screen-work of Islip's own chapel. The internal form is shown by the still remaining pavement and the mutilation of the groining.

When I pointed out to Mr. G. G. Scott my reasons for believing in the former existence of this window, he kindly caused a few stones of the floor to be taken up, and we then found not only foundations showing us the external shape of the projection, but built in those foundations a stone which had obviously at one time formed part of the jamb of the niche containing the image. Thus our previous supposition was confirmed that the niche had been moved when the window was thrown out. From the appearance of this stone I am inclined to think that in its former position the niche was much deeper than now. It is even possible that a side-light into it from the Chapel of S. John Baptist may have suggested to Islip the bold cutting away of the pier which he effected.

The altar itself consisted of a *mensa* only, exactly fitting the recess formed for it, and supported at the ends by iron dowels, the mortices for which may yet be seen in the walls. A credence was formed by cutting into the wall of the earlier division, and I think the painting is of the date of this alteration. The lettering of the larger inscription corresponds exactly with that on the grille round the tomb of Henry VII.

The chapel of S. John Baptist is now entirely cut off from the ambulatory by the tombs of Abbats William of Colchester and George Facet, and that of Ruthall, Bishop of Durham. Originally, however, there must have been a screen, and it is evident from its position that the tomb of William of Colchester (ob. 1420) was placed within the screen, as we see in other chapels the tombs of William de Valence, John of Eltham, Philippa of York, and Cardinal Langham. Facet's tomb was erected about 1500, in the line of the screen, of which with its canopy it was made to form a part, as we see was done with Lord Bourchier's monument in S. Paul's Chapel. Up to this date the chapel of S. John would be entered as the others still are directly from the ambulatory. But when (c. 1524) Ruthall's tomb was erected, filling up the space between those of the two abbats, it became necessary to provide a new entrance. To obtain this, the altar of S. Erasmus, set up scarcely twenty years before, was thrown down, and in place of the projecting window an ugly elliptical arch was formed, set back to the line of the early-English wall, and thus cutting off the corner of Islip's groining. This arch is very clumsily worked, and partly out of the old materials, for at the north end of the cornice we see the mouldings return in a manner unsuitable to their present situation, but at an angle corresponding with the external corner of the projecting window as shown by the foundations.

This last alteration brought the place into the form in which we now see it, and nearly a century and a half after its insertion the outer doorway became the entrance to S. John's Chapel. It is, however, probable that the image for the accommodation of which the recess was originally formed stood in its old niche for a few years longer, till King Henry removed it, and, extinguishing the lamp, piously appropriated it and such of the ornaments and offerings as were worth taking away. Since that time the place has suffered little injury except from neglect and the decay of the painting.

VIII.—*On an example of Phaleræ and other Antiquities from Switzerland. Communicated by* WILLIAM MICHAEL WYLIE, *Esq. F.S.A., Local Secretary for Hampshire.*

Read November 30, 1871.

Last autumn I had an opportunity of examining some reliques recently acquired by the Museum of Zürich, which appeared to me to possess considerable interest. I am now in a condition to place these matters before the Society, having been furnished with the necessary drawings and illustrations, through the kindness of our friend and colleague, Dr. Ferdinand Keller of Zürich. Much, also, of what I am about to say is derived from the same excellent source.

Disc of Silver in Bronze Framework from Seengen. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$rds linear.

The objects in question were obtained from an Alamannic grave at Seengen, on the lake of Hallwyl, canton Aargau, in Switzerland.

They consist in the first place of the remarkable disc figured in the woodcut.

This relique would seem, almost certainly, to be one of those military decorations —whether of war-steeds, or their riders—which we find mentioned in Roman history under the name of *phaleræ*. The framework is of bronze, with a raised outer rim protecting a central plate of thin silver, which exhibits, in *repoussé* work, an armed knight on his steed. From the damaged condition of the plate it is not altogether easy to determine details, but the figure seems to bear a helm with lofty crest, and to be clad in a *torica* and cuisses of scale armour. Neck, arms, and legs are uncovered, just as Sidonius[a] has pictured the Franks of Sigismer, "genua, crura, suræque sine tegmine," in this, as in other points, imitative of Roman costume.

The warrior's left hand guides his charger, while the right reposes on his hip. His seat on the horse is free and well-rendered, being in remarkable contrast with the barbarous execution of the horse itself. These central figures are surrounded by an ornamentation consisting of a riband pattern, somewhat in the fashion of a Runic knot. From the rim project three loops of square form—originally there was a fourth—through which passed the straps by which the disc was secured.

This is the sole example found in the interment, and it is hardly possible to determine the exact manner of its employment. It may, for instance, have been worn on the breast of the rider, serving, besides mere outward show, for defence, as a kind of *thorax;* or it may, and more probably, have been the frontlet or breast-ornament of the horse. The chief argument against this latter view of the case would be that we should have expected to find the remains of the horse in the grave, which was not the case.

In the same grave with the disc were discovered some weapons of iron which afford incontrovertible evidence of the decidedly Teutonic character of the interment. These consist of the full-sized ponderous and double-edged *spatha*, 2 feet 9½ inches in length; two examples of the *semi-spatha* or scramasax; and two lance-heads. In the ferrule of one of these some portion of the wooden staff still remains.

The discovery of these graves is, as usual, to be attributed to chance, that great friend of the antiquary. It is the same old story, and soon told. A proprietor of some land in the vicinity of Seengen, while digging the foundation of a barn

[a] Lib. iv. Epist. xx.

on the slope of a hill, discovered some ten or twelve Alamannic interments, constructed, like those of Selzen, Bel Air, and so many other places, of large stones, covered over with stone slabs.

The pommel and cross-bar of the sword give it a somewhat late or Scandinavian look; otherwise these arms might, with propriety, be ascribed to any branch of the early Teutonic family, so general is the type of these unornamented iron weapons.

As regards our *phaleræ* example, however, the case is very different, for I am not aware of the existence of any similar memorial among the vast number of discoveries of Teuton remains that have occurred of late years both at home and abroad. We can scarcely compare it with the rude bronze ornament from another Alamannic grave at Oberglatt, near Zürich, a drawing of which is before us. This formed the central fastening of a belt, and its rude open work portrays an equestrian figure with a lance. Neither does it admit of comparison with a fine example of Jute horse-trappings from Feversham, Kent, figured in the Archæologia Cantiana, vol. i. pl. 3, and described by Mr. Roach Smith as "having decorated the harness of a sumptuously caparisoned horse." The nearest approach I can find for any sort of comparison, in the same branch of art, is a silver plate belonging to the Standard of the fifth Roman Legion. On it is figured in *repoussé* work a Roman leader victorious on a battle-field. This was found in a Roman camp at Niederbiber, and exists in the collection at Neuwied on the Rhine.[a] It is but a very indifferent comparison. The Roman disc is, of course, very superior in execution to our Alamannic example, and is a trifle larger.

The idea of such a decorative work of art as this of Aargau was more than probably borrowed from Roman phaleræ, but the barbarous execution must be purely Teutonic.

There is no difficulty on this point, for the arts still lingered on when Rome had to submit to her conquerors, and the Lex Alamannorum (tit. lxxx.) expressly names the "*faber aurifex, et spatarius*," among the most important retainers of a chieftain.[b]

Phaleræ are of great antiquity, and we find them named by Herodotus among other golden horse-gear of the Massagetæ.[c] Among the Etruscans they were certainly in use, and probably both as personal and as horse ornaments. We

[a] Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer Heidnischen Vorzeit.* Mainz, Band i. heft 7. taf. v.

[b] See also for goldsmith's work, Eginhard, *Vita Caroli Magni.* [c] Clio, ccxv.

learn indeed from Florus that the Romans borrowed the use of phaleræ from the Etruscans.[a] They are more frequently mentioned by Latin writers as ornaments of the war-steed than of the person, but on this latter point there is also abundant proof. Thus we have in Silius Italicus[b]

——— phaleris hic pectore fulget.

While, without going further, the prose writers Tacitus[c] and Suetonius[d] offer similar conclusive testimony. Besides all this, modern discovery has furnished us with every advantage to be derived from monumental examples and ocular demonstration.[e] In fact, in the whole extent of archæology there is scarcely any point that can be so thoroughly proved; as for further reference to *phaleræ*, used as horse-trappings, it seems quite needless to cite authorities. The *equus phaleratus* constantly makes its appearance in the pages of the Latin writers from Livy to Prudentius.[f]

What has been said of the use of phaleræ by the Romans may, at first sight, appear superfluous. It is however most desirable to remove all doubts from the very threshold of our inquiry, since in all matters of art or arms the Teutons were content to adopt for their models those conquered Romans whom they otherwise despised. Thus the *pilum* of the legions of Augustus eventually passed into the German ranks under the name of *angon;* while the cavalry sword and large dagger of the infantry, during the lower empire, became the Teuton *spatha*, and *semi-spatha* or scramasax, if indeed certain varieties of the latter weapon were not direct imitations of the *gladius*.

In like manner the scale armour of the figure before us is precisely the copy of the scale *lorica* of the Romans, as shown on their sepulchral monuments.

Virgil speaks of it as "duplici squamâ lorica fidelis." It consisted of plates of iron or brass, fastened on a leather corslet, and overlapping each other. A specimen of such scale armour, found at Avenches, exists in the collection of the Baron von Bonstetten.[g] The plates are of brass, and measure nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in

[a] i. 5 [b] xv. 254. [c] Tacitus, Hist. i. 57, ii. 89. [d] Aug. xxv.

[e] Maffei, *Museum Veronense*, p. 121. Verona, 1749.—Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, vol. i. heft iv. pl. 6, and vi. pl. 5.—Otto Jahn, *Lauersforter Phaleræ*. Bonn, 1860.—*Collectanea Antiqua*, ii. p. 141.—*Proceedings of the Soc. Antiq. of London*, New Series, vol. i. p. 251.

[f] ——— et phaleratum
Circumflectit equum. Prudentius, *Psychomachia*, l. 195.

[g] Lindenschmit. *Alterthümer*, vol. i. heft. 12, taf. iv.

length by $\frac{6}{10}$ in width. Childeric, the Frank, is shown in a similar *lorica* on his authentic seal, the restoration of which we owe to the research of the Abbé Cochet.[a]

That among the Anglo-Saxons helm and body-armour were attributes of warriors of rank we know from the laws of Cnut; and, as to the Franks, we find continued mention of mail in the pages of Gregory of Tours, and later in the Capitularies. That we never find examples of such armour in sepulchral explorations results from causes we shall presently attempt to examine. But find them we do not, and the evidence of this Alamannic effigy becomes therefore the more valuable. Now, if it be admitted that the Germans were such positive copyists of Roman progress, proof will scarcely be required of the use also of phaleræ among them.

It is self-evident that so essentially military a people must, together with the arms of the Romans, have also adopted their symbols of military honour. However, as there is direct evidence of this, in a very small compass, it may be as well to give it. There is a passage in the Germania of Tacitus, terse and concise as this writer's style ever is, and conveying a mass of information in a very few words. Tacitus states the great desiderata of the Germans to have been military equipments and military honours and decorations—"electi equi, magna arma, phaleræ torquesque." The Romans usually bestowed phaleræ and torques together as personal decorations for distinguished conduct. The former were worn on the breast, the latter as a collar round the neck, hanging down on the breast[b]—"torque aurato circumdat bellica colla." It was this kind of torques that we find termed in Beowulf, l. 4999, "the breast honour"—breost-weorðunge.

The Germans were just as imitative in the matter of their horse-trappings, and in this we have the graphic testimony of Sidonius Apollinaris[c] in the latter part of the fifth century. In his lively account of the *entourage* of Prince Sigismer, he tells us, "Illum equus quidem phaleris comptus, immo equi, radiantibus gemmis onusti antecedebant, vel etiam subsequebantur." A few years since we should have further cited the rich grave of King Childeric, at Tournay, with his horse and its furniture, but it is no longer possible to do so after the fatal criticism of the Abbé Cochet.[d] Phaleræ no doubt were there, but Chiflet[e] did not understand them, and those relics to which he assigned the name of "phaleræ regii equi" manifestly belong to a very different matter.

[a] Cochet. *Tombeau de Childeric.* Paris, 1859, p. 369.
[b] Silius Italicus, xv. 256.
[c] Epist. iv. 20.
[d] *Le Tombeau de Childeric.* Paris, 1859.
[e] *Anastasis Childerici;* Antverpiæ, M.DC.LV.

We find, too, the same custom had reached the more northern tribes. Thus in Beowulf the poet refers to—

> " Steeds
> With cheek adorned,
> * * * * * * *
> On one of them stood
> A saddle cunningly variegated,
> With treasure ornamented:
> That was the war-seat
> Of the high king."
>
> —Thorpe's Translation, line 2075.

We may now proceed to consider some of the details of the equestrian figure, which are as rare and remarkable as the actual reliques. It is probably the only record known of a Teuton in full armour at this early date. We are naturally led to an attentive consideration of the difficulties and seeming discrepancies which attend this question of the armour of the Germans on their first appearance in the pages of history.

The numerous sepulchral researches of modern times have produced so very few examples of defensive or body-armour from German graves, that doubts have been entertained how far such armour was ever in general use among the German tribes. These doubts moreover seemed to find a certain confirmation in the words of Tacitus: " Paucis loricæ; vix uni alterive cassis, aut galea."[a] " Non loricam Germano, non galeam." It was not sufficiently considered that this absence of body-armour was rather to be attributed to stern necessity than to choice. The state of art in the German forests scarcely admitted of forging arms at home, while the Romans would not permit their exportation. The Kelts indeed at this period seem to have arrived at the art of forging chain-armour, and the rare examples instanced by Tacitus were probably obtained from them in barter, or from the bodies of enemies slain in battle. But the same writer tells us of the anxieties to obtain armour, and that no gifts were more acceptable among the Germans than " electi equi, magna arma." Centuries later we find Agathias[b] relating the same want of body-armour among the Franks and Alamanni at the battle of Casilinum, A.D. 554, while the Heruli, in the Roman ranks, were perfectly well-armed—*οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἐρουλοι εὖ μάλα ἐξωπλισμένοι.*

After reading the chatty pages of Sidonius, who lived so much among the Franks and the Goths, this statement is somewhat inexplicable; but it is sufficiently certain that any deficiency in armour experienced at this date by the

[a] *De Mor. Germ.* vi. *Annal.* ii. 14.

[b] Lib. ii. c. 5.

northern nations was speedily made good. The old Lex Ripuaria indeed not only furnishes a catalogue of the various pieces of armour, but also an estimate of value.[a]

However, arms long continued scarce, and either from this cause or from policy, we find repeated enactments against the export of defensive armour even as late as the time of Charlemagne.

The primary and great cause then of our not finding helms, cuirasses, and the like, in graves, with the other arms of the dead, is that they were too rare and valuable to be parted with by the living. This worked itself out into the law of heriots, and, exceptionally, of family inheritance.

We gather our earliest information on this very important subject from Tacitus, who tells us that a German prince was expected to furnish his retainers with their arms and war-steeds.[b] This, probably, was originally looked upon as a kind of loan returnable under certain conditions, and which by degrees grew into a fixed law. We have the great authority of the learned Jacob Grimm for the statement that, under the old German law, the arms and steed of a vassal were, on his death, directly returnable to his feudal lord whose property they were.[c] Thus we find Beowulf, as a simple thane, directing his cuirass to be sent home to his royal kinsman, in the event of his falling in action.

> Send to Hygelac,
> If the conflict take me off,
> The best of battle-shrouds
> That defends my breast.—(Line 908.)

Among Kemble's remains in the Horæ Ferales are some very valuable pages on the Anglo-Saxon rights of heriots, which are singularly well-defined in the laws of Knut. Mr. Kemble explains these heriots as "the rendering up to the King (who was in theory supposed to have originally lent them to his retainers) of the weapons which a deceased soldier had possessed; and it was an established

[a] Spatam cum scogilo pro vii solid. tribuat.
Spatam absque scogilo pro iii. sol. tribuat.
Brunniam bonam pro xii. solid. tribuat.
Helmum cum directo pro vi. sol. tribuat.
Bainbergas bonas pro vi. solid. tribuat.
Scutum cum lancea pro ii. solid. tribuat.
Leg. Ripuar. titulus xxxviii. ed. Herold.

[b] *De Mor. Germ.* xiv.

[c] Ins *heergewäte* gehört ursprünglich pferd, schwert, und kriegsgewand des erblassers. Diese stücke, wenn ein held gefallen war, wurden heimgesandt (klage 1288); sie eignete sich, nach des vasallen tode, der lehnsherr zu; nach dem des hörigen, wenn er waffenfähig war, auch der grundherr. Wo aber das nächste blut das hergewäte erbt, da ist persönliche freiheit.—*Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* von Jacob Grimm, 2nd ed. p. 568.

principle of all Teutonic law, that the heriots, or arms, were to be suitable to the condition of the dead." [a]

Thus in a Saxon will, A.D. 1050, we find Thurstan naming his heriot in his will. "I give to my royal lord, for my heriot, two marks of gold, and two horses and saddle-vessels, and a helm, and a coat of mail, and a sword, and two shields, and two spears." [b] Again in another Saxon will of the same date we read "I give the land at Harling to Archbishop Stigand my lord . . . . . And, if I come not again, then I give him, for my heriot, a helm, and a coat of mail, and a horse and trappings, and a sword, and a spear."—*Diplomatarium*, p. 582.

In early times, we can hardly doubt the return of arms was punctually made, although at a later period a money composition may have been agreed on, and paid instead.

There were other Teuton tribes where the custom of heriots does not appear to have existed. In this case, their laws clearly define the *lorica* to be an heir-loom attached to the land inheritance, which could only pass in the male line.[c] A vivid illustration of this occurs in Beowulf. The hero now dying laments he has no son to whom he could give his armour, and, in default, bestows it on his next of kin.

Line 5451—

I to my son now
would give
my war-weeds,
if so granted me
any heir were after me,
belonging to my body.
. . . . .
. . . .

Line 5610—

Doffed then from his neck
a golden ring,
the bold-hearted prince
to his thane gave it,
to the young javelin-warrior,
his gold-hued helm,
his ring and byrnie :
bade him use them well :
"Thou art the last remnant
of our race," &c.

[a] Kemble, in *Horæ Ferales*, p. 203. [b] Thorpe's *Diplomatarium Anglicum*, p. 573.

[c] De Alodibus, tit. vii. Ad quemcunque hæreditas terræ pervenerit, ad illum vestis bellica, id est lorica, et ultio proximi, et solutio leudis, debet pertinere.—Lex Angliorum et Werinorum, ed. Herold.

Keysler,[a] on the faith of a Runic inscription, asserts that the heathen Scandinavians were wont to offer up the *lorica* of a fallen enemy at the shrine of Odin.

We have surely then evidence enough before us to prove that throughout the early German period body armour was highly prized. Whether it was rendered, as a heriot, to the feudal chieftain; whether it passed from father to son, as an heirloom appertaining to the male representative of the landed estate; or whether, when won in conquest, it was transferred, as a propitiatory offering, to the shrine of the heathen war-god, we can see tolerably clearly why it did not accompany the Teutonic dead to the tomb with other possessions prized in their lifetime, and whence it comes that examples of it are so rare.

It now remains to consider the equestrian portion of our subject, which is by no means the least interesting or important. Our very earliest acquaintance with the Teuton tribes—with the Alamanni in particular—connects them closely with equestrian habits. It may be well then to take a cursory review of some of the classical evidence we possess on this point, or we can hardly do justice to this memorial from the grave of an Alamannic warrior.

Cæsar seems the first historian who mentions the German cavalry, and in terms of high praise.[b] He tells us that the horses were of an inferior description, but brought under perfect command, and into high condition, by continuous exercise. The hardy riders contemned the luxury of a saddle: "Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum, quamvis pauci, adire audeant." Of this he soon had a convincing proof, when a division of Roman cavalry, 5,000 strong, were suddenly attacked and routed by 800 wild riders of the Usipetes and Tenchtheri.[c]

The Germans must soon have found the necessity of improving their native breed of horses. Hence, as we have already seen in Tacitus, "equi electi" were greatly in request.

Aurelius Victor particularly refers to the fighting qualities of the Alamannic cavalry: "Antoninus Caracalla Alamannos, gentem populosam, *ex equo mirificè pugnantem*, prope Mœnum amnem devicit."[d] This I believe to be the first historical mention we have of the great Alamannic confederacy.

The pages of Procopius furnish an account of the cavalry of the Goths, and the sneer of the historian is, at the same time, the best record of the perfect horsemanship of Totila at the battle of Tagina.[e]

Gulielmus Apulus, indeed, at a far later period, describes the Suevi, brought

[a] *Antiquitates Septentrionales*, p. 137.
[b] *De Bell. Gall.* iv. 2.
[c] *De Bell. Gall.* iv. 4.
[d] *De Cæsaribus*, 24.
[e] *De Bell. Goth.* iv. 31.

into Italy by Pope Leo IX., as far more formidable on foot than on horseback—a fact he attributes to the imperfect training of their horses, which were not sufficiently handy in action:

> " quàm lancea plus valet ensis,
> Nam nec equus doctè manibus giratur eorum,
> Nec validos ictus dat lancea ; præminet ensis."

We have now briefly traced historic mention of German "*reiterei*," from the days of Cæsar to the middle of the eleventh century, and no further evidence seems required.

In England we are so apt to consider our horses as parts of ourselves that it seems a mere matter of course when we see the same feeling evinced by another nation. Yet the Germans of the present day, as a general rule, treat their horses with yet greater kindness and consideration than we do. As for the past, perhaps the legal code of no other nation than the Alamanni will be found to have visited offences to the horse and his rider with equal penalties.[a] I take it, however, we inherit from our Teuton ancestors our interest in our horses, and all that appertains to them. The fact of this equestrian idiosyncrasy of the ancient German race seems to have presented itself very forcibly to the mind of the late learned Professor Dr. F. Pfeiffer, who in his remarkable treatise, "*Dass Ross im altdeutschen*,[b] has given a fresh instance of the patient reading and research for which his countrymen have always been so distinguished.

We may now turn from the period that probably preceded our reliques to the mediæval one succeeding it, and venture to allude to the analogy which the equestrian design would seem to have with those knightly effigies we meet with on the seals of early charters. None of these seals, indeed, appear to ascend as high as the presumed date of our phaleræ, but the design may, even then, have been adopted as a symbol of lordship, in accordance with the manifest popular taste.

The height of the helm in our design is also to be observed. As Dr. Keller

[a] De eo qui equum plagaverit, dum hominem plagare voluerit.

Si quis homo in equo suo cavallicaverit, et aliquis eum super ipsum plagare voluerit, et dum illum plagare voluerit, cavallum ejus plagaverit, ita plagam cavalli componat quem admodum componere debuit si dominum ejus plagasset.—*Lex Alamannorum*, tit. lxxii. Ed. Herold.

[b] *Breslau*, 1855. This treatise is perfectly exhaustive. The innumerable citations from ancient records, poetry and romances, prove that "*reiterei*" was of old an all-important consideration in Germany. The splendid horse-gear, so perpetually referred to, sometimes leave us doubtful whether we are to regard it as an actual imitation, or merely as a traditionary reminiscence of Roman magnificence.

well remarks, it forecasts the adornments of the casque of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

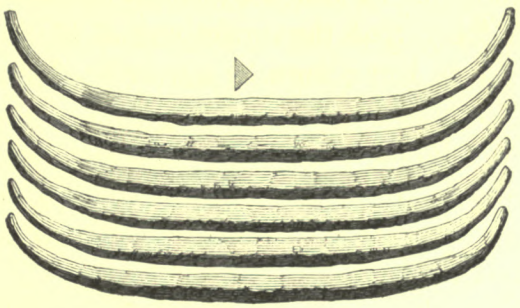
As to the date to be assigned to these interesting Alamannic reliques, it is not easy to speak with precision. My own idea from the first has been that they belong to the late-Carlovingian period, and this has lately received support from a very unlooked-for quarter. Among the treasures of St. Gall is the magnificent Psalter of the ninth century, known as the *Codex Aureus*. Among the copies of some of the illuminations of this Psalter, with which Dr. Keller has just favoured me as bearing on our present subject, are two plates in which horsemen are represented in just such scale armour as appears on our disc from Aargau. We are in the habit of referring to Trajan's column, or the Bayeux tapestry, as precious records of the arms and costumes of their respective periods, and we have a right to assume that the monk-artist of St. Gall was equally as trustworthy an exponent of the military costume of the Carlovingian period, which he must have had daily before his eyes.

One of these figures, representing King Saul, is here given in outline :—

From Codex Aureus, St. Gall.

These graphic lines from the ancient *Waltharlied* particularly apply to our subject :—

328. "Stat sonipes, ac frœna ferox spumantia mandit,
Hunc, postquam faleris solito circumdedit, ecce,
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Ipseque lorica vestitus, more gigantis,
Imposuit capiti rubras cum casside cristas,
Ingentesque ocreis suras complectitur aureis;
Et lævum femur ancipiti prœcinxerat ense,
Atque alio dextrum, pro ritu Pannoniarum,
Is tamen ex una tantum dat vulnera parte.
Tunc hastam dextra capiens, clipeumque sinistra."



Bronze bars from Ueberlingen. Scale, ⅛ linear.

The woodcut which is here introduced refers to a far earlier epoch. It represents one of two sets of bars, or strips of bronze, found in a tumulus of the Keltic period at Ueberlingen, on the lake of Constance, together with human remains. The position of these strips in the grave would show they had been employed as defensive armour. Most likely they had been affixed one below the other, like ribs, on a garment of linen, or leather, long since perished, and formed a kind of cuirass.

We have, indeed, sufficient authority for suggesting that the corslet, to which these bars were in some way attached, may have been of flax or leather, since both were in use among the ancient races.

Homer (*Iliad*, ii. 529) refers to the use of flaxen corslets in the army of the Greeks. Again, their use among the Argives must have been very general from the appellation of Ἀργεῖοι λινοθώρηκες. According to Herodotus, linen corslets were an especial manufacture of the Egyptians, as instanced by the fact of their constituting royal presents to distant nations, and the shrines of the gods. Such

offerings as these must have been the most artistic production of their class. Pliny, accordingly, mentions the interest excited, even in his day, by the remains of such a gift of King Amasis, still existing in the island of Rhodes.[a]

It is equally clear they were also in use among the Etruscans. Among the very rare *spolia opima* in the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius at Rome was the flaxen corslet of the Etruscan monarch, Lar Tolumnius, slain by Cornelius Cossus, A.U.C. 318.[b] Perhaps, indeed, such defensive armour had always been in occasional use, and so continued, by reason of its flexibility and lightness. Thus Plutarch assigns a flaxen corslet to Alexander the Great, as Suetonius also does incidentally to the Emperor Galba.

As to the use of the leather corslet, Varro (De Lingua Latina, l. iv.) gives "Lorica, a loris: quod de corio crudo pectoralia faciebant; postea succuderunt Gallie ferro, sub id vocabulum, ex annulis, ferream tunicam." In the case before us there is every probability that the corslet was of hide, as being the simplest material for defence, and as being worn by a warrior of the Keltic nation before the introduction of chain mail.

The discovery of such reliques is the more valuable, since examples of body-armour of the early periods are so rare. Unfortunately, we have no account of the further relics met with in this tumulus of Ueberlingen, which might have afforded some evidence of its date.

[a] Herodotus, ii. 182; iii. 47. Pliny, xix. 2.

[b] Livy, iv. 19, 20.

IX.—*An Original Appointment of Sir John Fastolfe to be Keeper of the Bastille of St. Anthony at Paris in* 1421; *with Illustrative Remarks by* John Gough Nichols, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read December 8th, 1870.

I am permitted by Robert F. Dalrymple, Esq., to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries a remarkable and interesting document connected with the English occupation of Paris, at the time when King Henry the Fifth was recognised as the heir of his father-in-law Charles the Sixth.

It will be remembered that after the disastrous field of Agincourt, fought on the 25th October, 1415, the Kingdom of France was no longer able to resist effectually the power of its English invaders, who soon after made a truce with Burgundy independently of France. The King became a prisoner in his own house of the Louvre, the Queen and Dauphin were banished to Troyes. For four years after, France, though living in constant dread of the English armies, was torn to pieces by intestine strife, promoted chiefly on the one hand by the faction of the Duke of Burgundy, and on the other by that which took its name from the Dauphin or the Constable Armagnac. In the meantime the English in their career of conquest captured the city of Caen in the campaign of 1417, and the capital city of Rouen in that of 1419, and thus after the lapse of two centuries re-established their ancient sovereignty in Normandy. On the 29th of May, 1418, possession and control of the city of Paris was successfully asserted by the rebellious Duke of Burgundy, the ally of the English. That unscrupulous prince had some years before admitted his complicity in the assassination of the Duke of Orleans, the King's only brother, and maintained it to have been a justifiable act; and he continued to domineer in defiance of the royal authority until his own life was taken, by an act of similar treachery, whilst holding a personal interview with the Dauphin. This latter event occurred on the 10th September, 1419; and the following year saw a peace concluded with the English, whereby King Henry, on espousing the Princess Katharine of France, became the son-in-

law of Charles the Sixth, and was acknowledged at once the heir of the Kingdom of France and its present Regent. From that time until after the death, in 1435, of King Henry's surviving brother the Duke of Bedford, then Regent of France, Paris was actually in possession of the English for a period of seventeen years.

Monstrelet, in the 228th chapter of his Chronicle, mentions that during the siege of Melun, which was in progress in the summer of 1420, the fortresses of Paris were, with the consent of the Duke of Burgundy and the Parisians, placed in the hands of King Henry, namely, the bastille of St. Anthony, the Louvre, the maison de Nesle, and the castle of Vincennes. The Duke of Clarence was made Captain of Paris instead of the Count of St. Pol; and English garrisons were placed in all those fortresses.

It is to the following January that the document belongs to which I now direct the attention of the Society of Antiquaries. It is the appointment of a new keeper of the bastille of St. Anthony at Paris, and that a person of no less historical celebrity than Sir John Fastolfe, afterwards a Knight of the Garter.

The instrument is an Indenture made Jan. 24, 1420-1, between the sovereign lord Henry by the grace of God King of England, heir and Regent of the realm of France and lord of Ireland, in the name of his very dear father Charles, by the same grace King of France, and in his own name as Regent of the realm of France, of the one part, and John Fastolfe, knight, of the other part; testifying that the said John is retained towards the said Kings, to hold the bastille of St. Anthony of Paris from the date thereof to the end of an entire year next ensuing. The said John was to have constantly remaining with him for the safe keeping of the aforesaid bastille twenty men of arms, including himself, and sixty archers throughout the said year, well-mounted, armed, and arrayed for the war as appertained to their conditions. The said John was to take wages of war, to wit, for himself two shillings and for each of the other men of arms twelve pence a day with the usual reward,[a] and for each of the said archers six pence a day. Fastolfe was to make musters of himself and his said gensdarmes and archers,

[a] I am not aware whether any author or commentator has particularly explained the meaning of the term Reward. It was certainly something paid in addition to wages, and is of continual occurrence in the various instruments of military retainer which occur in the collection of Rymer. Thus in the letters patent addressed by King Edward the Third in 1347 to John de Coupland, who had taken King David (Bruce) of Scotland prisoner, by which that fortunate captain was raised to the rank of Banneret, with the yearly grant of five hundred pounds to maintain that dignity, and further retained to keep twenty men-at-arms in the King's service, receiving on that account another hundred pounds, it is added that he was also to receive the wages and rewards usually paid to other Bannerets of his rank being in the King's service—

and was to be always ready with his said retinue well mounted, armed and arrayed, to ride and do service to the aforesaid Kings, as he should be commanded, as often as he should be duly warned and required. And in case any of the said gensdarmes when commanded to ride and do service should be found not suitably horsed fit for their rank, they were not to be paid during such time, except for the wages of men of arms on foot, that is to say, for each such person eight pence a day. It was further provided, in regard to any gains of war, that Sir John should pay to King Henry the thirds as well of those gains of war for which his retinue should be answerable to him, whether prisoners, preys, or other things captured, as of his own gains, and all the droits accustomed; and should also surrender and deliver to him all the captains and lieutenants, if any during the said time should be taken by him or any of his people; for the which the King should make reasonable recompense to him or those who took them. Sir John Fastolfe was further to have letters patents from the King of France under his great seal. Finally, the said John undertakes to keep safely, to the extent of his loyal power, the aforesaid bastille, to the honour and profit of the said Kings; and not to deliver up the same save only to our said lord the King of England, or his heirs, in the name of his said father, and to surrender his charge at their assured commandment by their letters.

Besides these stipulations, a considerable portion of the document is occupied by conditions for the times and mode of payment of the wages, and by arrangements in respect to the coin in which the payments should be made. The currency of France had already suffered considerable depreciation, and evidently further depreciation was regarded as imminent. Sir John Fastolfe was to be paid in hand for the first quarter of the year, taking the gold noble of England[a] at the rate of four francs of the white money then current in France, or otherwise so many as seven francs of the same white money as against the four francs

"Volentes et concedentes quod vadia et *rewarda* præfato Johanni et hominibus suis, pro tempore quo ipsos in obsequio nostro morari contigerit, sicut aliis Banerettis de suo statu in hujusmodi obsequio nostro existentibus solvantur."

It appears not improbable that the reward was originally an allowance made for expenditure in travelling or otherwise. In another Latin document in Rymer's collection, of the date 1443, one Rosencrans, a merchant of Cologne, is said to have served the King in many voyages and journeyings for five years, "et de suo magnanimiter expendit absque aliquo Regardo sive recompensatione (*any reward or recompence*) proinde de nobis habito."

[a] By the marriage treaty of Henry V. and Katharine of France, 21st May, 1420, the dower of the princess was fixed at 60,000 crowns, "two of which are of the value of an English noble."

named. During the residue of the time he was to be paid monthly by the hands of the Treasurer-General of France; and if it should happen that, during the said time, after the end of the first quarter, the money of France should be changed, enhanced, and put at a better alloy and value than it then was, from the time of that change the said John was to be paid monthly for himself and his retinue of the new money, taking the franc for three shillings sterling.

Monstrelet, in his 250th chapter, notices the depreciation of several current coins that was enacted by the Royal Council in Paris about two years after, and he remarks that "these continued lowerings of the coin gave great discontent among all ranks, seeing that their money property was diminished one-eighth in value."

The biography of Sir John Fastolfe has been treated at considerable length, first by Oldys in the *Biographia Britannica*, where, in the second edition, it was revised and corrected by Mr. Gough, then Director of this Society; and since by Blomefield in his *History of Norfolk*, by Anstis in his *Register of the Order of the Garter*, by Mr. Dawson Turner in his *History of Castor Castle*, and by Mr. G. Poulett Scrope in his *History of Castle Combe*. It seems that none of these writers were aware of this incident of Sir John Fastolfe's career, that he was some time Commander of the Bastille in Paris.[a] It has happened, however, that I have previously met with this fact in the treatise[b] called *The Boke of Noblesse*, addressed to King Edward the Fourth on his invasion of France in 1475, and written by some one—possibly William of Wyrcestre, who was so intimately acquainted with Sir John Fastolfe, and the records of his military administration, as to term him, repeatedly, "mine autor."

[a] A note may here be made that, among the large number of original documents relating to the occupation of France by the English, which was added to the collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum by purchase in the year 1856, there are at least sixteen in which Sir John Fastolfe is a party. They range from the year 1422 to 1436, and show him to have held commands at Meullant in Provence, at Verneuil, Honfleur, Caen, Alençon, Fresnoy le Vicomte, &c. They are preserved among the Addit. MSS. 11,481 to 11,966. An original probate copy of the will of Sir John Fastolfe, which related to his foundation of a college at Castor in Norfolk, dated in November 1459, is now the Addit. MS. 22,927. It was purchased in 1859 from the library of the late Mr. Dawson Turner, and it is accompanied by remarks in MS. by that gentleman and his son-in-law Sir Francis Palgrave. A folio cartulary of evidences concerning the manors of Castlecombe and Oxendon, A.D. 1422-35, with which Fastolfe had much to do, has also found its way into the national collection, Addit. MS. 28,206.

[b] Printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1860, at the expense of the late Lord Delamere, and edited by the present writer.

When the Duke of Clarence had been slain at the battle of Baugé, which was fought on Easter-eve, March 20, 1420-1,[a] Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, was appointed his successor as Captain of Paris, and the anecdote to which I refer belongs to that period. It is related by Monstrelet[b] that the Duke, for certain reasons, thought proper to arrest Jean de Villiers, Seigneur de l'Isle Adam—a very distinguished soldier, who was himself, at a subsequent period, Captain of Paris, after the Duke of Bedford's retirement in 1430. This measure so irritated the townsmen of Paris, with whom the lord of l'Isle Adam was very popular, that a mob of a thousand or more attempted to rescue him from those who were conducting him to the bastille of St. Anthony. He was eventually safely immured there;[c] but the Duke himself (according to *The Boke of Noblesse*) was for more safety coerced to take to the Bastille with his fellowship or retinue, for their own defence. "At hys commyng the chieff questyon he demaunded of the seyd Fastolfe (was) how welle he was stored of greynes, of whete, of benys, pesyn, and aveyn for horsmete, and of othyr vitaille. He seyd, for half (a) yere and more suffisaunt. And hyt comforted gretly the Prince. Then the Duc made redy the ordnaunce wyth shot of gret gonnys amongys the rebells, and shot of arowes myghtelye, (so) that they kept her loggeyns. And the Frenche Kyng and the Quene, beyng yn the eytee, helde ayenst the rebellys; so, in short tyme, the burgeyses were constreyned to submytt them and put hem yn the Duc ys grace."

This anecdote is introduced in illustration of Sir John Fastolfe's characteristic foresight in the matter of purveyance; for "I fynde (says the writer) by hys bokes of hys purveours how yn every castelle, forteresse, and eyte or towne he wolde hafe grete providence of vitaille, of cornys, of larde, and beoffes, of stok-physhe and salt-fyshe owt of England commyng by shyppes. And that policie was one of the grete causes that the Regent of Fraunce and the lordes of the Kyng ys grete counceille lefft hym to hafe so many castells to kepe that he ledd yerly iij c. sperys and the bowes (or archers, in due proportion). And also yn semblable wyse purveyed yeerly for lyverey white and rede for hubes[d] for hys

[a] See the date of this battle correctly ascertained in *The Herald and Genealogist*, vi. 101.

[b] Vol. i. chap. ccxxxviii.

[c] Monstrelet states that the Duke of Exeter, collecting six score soldiers, chiefly archers, fired on the populace, and succeeded in safely lodging the sieur de l'Isle Adam in the Bastille; but not that the Duke himself took refuge in that fortress.

[d] This word is probably equivalent to the "howve," or hood, of Chaucer and Piers Plouhman. See Mr. Albert Way's notes to the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (Camd. Soc.) p. 249, in the text of which occurs, Howe, or hure, heed-hyllynge, *Tena, capedulum, sidaris*. The parti-coloured *hube* was probably something more than a mere head-covering—a light cloak or great-coat.

soudeours, and for armurs wepyns redye to a naked man that was hable to do the Kyng and the sayd Regent service."

If the statement here made, and repeated in the preface to Caxton's translation of Cicero *de Senectute*,[a] that Sir John Fastolfe had at his command a total retinue amounting to three hundred spears, or men-at-arms, is not very much exaggerated, it must be admitted to convey a remarkable account of the "many castles" or garrisons confided to his care, when we find in the document before us that the number of twenty men-at-arms, with their proportion of sixty archers, was considered sufficient for the bastille of St. Anthony at Paris.

There is also mention of the Bastille, and quite in accordance with the passage above quoted, in one of Sir John Fastolfe's books of accompt:—[b]

> Item, in like wise is owing to the said Fastolfe for the keeping and victualling of the Bastille of St. Anthony in Paris, as it appeareth by writing sufficient, and by the creditors of Sir John Tyrel knight, late treasurer of the King's house, remaining in the Exchequer of Westminster of record, the sum of . . . . . xlij li.

Those who are conversant with the past volumes of our Archæologia, will remember that in vol. xxi. the substance of two Rolls is printed, containing an "Inventory of the Gold and Sylver in Coyne and Plate, and other Goodes and Chattels" that had been the property of Sir John Fastolfe, a document remarkable for the large amount of silver plate in particular which the old knight had amassed. It is interesting to find among these, "Item, a saltsaler like a bastell, gilt, with roses, weiying lxxvij. unces." A note contributed by Dr. Meyrick[c]

[a] That translation is supposed to have been made by the well-known William of Wyrcestre, and it is directly stated to have been made before the death of Sir John Fastolfe in 1459, although not printed by Caxton until 1481. An accurate copy of the passage relating to Sir John Fastolfe, though familiar to many readers, may not inappropriately be here appended:—

—whiche book was translated and thystoryes openly declared, by the ordenaunce & desyre of the noble Auncyent knyght Syr Johan Fastolf of the countee of Norfolk banarette. lyvyng the age of four score yere· excercisyng the warrys in the Royame of Fraunce and other countrees, ffor the diffence and vnyuersal welfare of bothe royames of englond and ffraunce by fourty yeres enduryng, the fayte of armes hauntyng. And in admynystryng Justice and polytique gouernaunce vnder thre kynges, that is to wete Henry the fourth. Henry the fyfthe. Henry the syxthe, And was gouernour of the duchye of Angeou and the coũtee of Mayne, Capytayn of many townys, Castellys and fortressys in the said Royame of ffraunce, hauyng the charge and saufgard of them dyuerse yeres. ocupyeng and rewlynge thre honderd speres and the bowes acustomed thenne, And yeldyng good acompt of the forsaid townes castellys & fortresses to the seyd kynges and to theyr lyeutenauntes, Prynces of noble recomendacion, as Johan regent of ffraunce Duc of Bedforde, Thomas duc of excestre, Thomas duc of clarẽce, & othir lyeutenaũtes.

[b] Paston Letters, iii. 269.

[c] *Archæologia*, xxi. 240.

explains the word *bastell* as meaning "A small tower;" but a salt-cellar weighing seventy-seven ounces may well have been actually a model of the bastille of St. Anthony, and a memorial of Sir John's good keeping thereof.

The Indenture which has suggested these remarks came into the possession of the late Arthur Dalrymple, Esq., F.S.A., of Norwich, from the collection of Mr. Turner of Gloucester. He communicated a copy to the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, and it was published in 1861 in the sixth volume of the *Norfolk Archæological Collections;* but that copy is so imperfect in many places, and the accompanying translation so abounding in important misconceptions, that its republication will be simply a necessary tribute to the claims of historical accuracy.

There is an impression attached of the privy seal of King Henry. It is made of red wax upon a slip partially cut from the foot of the parchment. The legend is all broken away, except the single word Regis. A shield of France and England quartered remains perfect, with part of a crown above, and portions of ostrich feathers in scrolls on either side. The arms of France are semée of fleurs-de-lis.

I cannot find that the Privy Seals of our Kings have been published as might have been expected. None of them are engraved in Sandford's *Genealogical History*. In Sir Harris Nicolas's dissertation *On the Badge and Mottoes of the Prince of Wales*, in the thirty-first volume of Archæologia, there is an engraving of the Privy Seal of King Henry IV., not, however, directly from an impression, but from a tricking in the College of Arms, taken from the King's last will. Its legend is, SIGILLUM SECRETUM HENRICI REGIS FRANCIE ET ANGLIE. The device is that which the impression before us when perfect probably presented, a shield of France (ancient) and England quarterly, under a crown, on either side an ostrich-feather within a scroll, held by a lion couchant: these two lions being back to back. The same design (with the necessary variation in the armorial bearings) has been retained for the Privy Seal to the present day, except that the lions are now sejant rather than couchant.

It will be remembered that the Privy Seal (unless in the occasional absence of the Great Seal) was seldom used but as a warrant for the use of the Great Seal; and in modern times this has been its only use. Thus the Privy Seals never go further than the Crown Office, or other office of Chancery, where the patent for the Great Seal is prepared. In the Crown Office, I am informed, the old Privy Seals are customarily used up as fire revivers. This is probably a practice of old

standing, and may partly account for the rarity of impressions of the Privy Seal.[a]

The text of the instrument under notice follows :—

Ceste endenture faite parentre [le][b] souverain seigneur Henri, par la grace de Dieu, Roy Dengleterre, Heriter et Regent du Royaume de France, et Seigneur Dirlande, en nomme de son trescher pere Charles, par icelle mesme grace Roy de France, et de lui mesmes come Regent du Royaume de France, dune parte, et Johan Fastolfe chevaler, dautre parte, tesmoigne que le dit Johan est Retenuȝ devers les ditȝ Roys, pur garder la Bastille de saint Antoygne de Parys du Jour de la date de ceste presente endenture jusques a la fyn dun an entier prochain ensuiant. Et aura le dit Johan continuellement demourantȝ ovesque lui sur la saufgarde de la susdite Bastille vingt hommes darmes lui mesmes acconteȝ, et sessante archers durant le dit an bien monteȝ, armeȝ, et arraieȝ pur la guerre come a leur estatȝ il appartient. Et prendra le dit Johan gages de guerre assavoir pour lui mesmes deux souldȝ, pur chacun des ditȝ autres hommes darmes dousȝe deniers le Jour ovesque regard accustumeȝ, et pur chacun des ditȝ archers sys deniers le Jour, durant le temps susdit. Desqueux gages et Regard sera le dit Johan paieȝ pur ung quartier dun an de mesme le temps en

[a] The following is a note of the only impressions of the Privy Seals of our earlier monarchs, which appear to exist in the British Museum.

1. Edward I. Seal 1 inch in diameter, exhibiting a shield with rounded base, bearing the arms of England, with the legend,

✠ SECRETVM [REGI]S . EDWARDI.

appended by a slip cut from the bottom of the instrument, to a writ in the form of letters patent, empowering Robert de Sales to receive into the King's peace all the men of Moray (*homines de Moravid*) who may choose to come in. Dated at Aberdeen, July 18, 24 Edw. I. (*Cart. Harl.* 43 B. 8.)

2. Edward III. Small seal, with a shield of France ancient and England quarterly, within a rich border of tracery. Legend,

✠ Secre[tum] . . . . . Fra[ncie et Ang]lie.

appended to a document in French, "donné soubs nostre privé seal devant Calais, le sisme de Mars l'an de nostre regne de France oytisme et dengleterre vintisme premier," being a grant of 1000 marks sterling to Jehan de Chalouns, Seignour de Arlay. (*Add. Ch.* 11,307.)

3. Edward III. A fragment of a larger seal than the preceding, with a shield of France and England quarterly. To an instrument dated ann. 44 of England, 31 of France. (*L. F. C.* iii. 19.)

4. Richard II. Seal 2⅜ inch in diameter. Pointed shield almost like that of the "spade guinea" of George III., bearing France ancient and England quarterly, ensigned with a crown of three *fleurons*. Lions couchant under the shield, each holding up an ostrich feather scrolled. Legend,

✠ Secretum : Ri[cardi R]egis : Francie : et : Anglie.

To a French document, dated in the 3rd year of the king. (*Add. Ch.* 7378. Three detached impressions of the same seal, xxxvi. 187.)

5. Henry V. A poor fragment of a seal, of which enough remains to show the shield of France modern and England. (*Cart. Harl.* 43 E. 39.) C. S. P.

[b] The word "le" is erased, probably with the intention of inserting "n're."

main, et pur icelles paiements il recevira le noble dor Dengleterre pour quatre franks de la blancke monoye ore courrante en France, ou autrement sept franks de mesme la blancke monoye pur les quatre franks susdits, et pur la residue de lavauntdit temps sera le dit Johan payes de moys en moys par les mains du Tresorer general de France. Et sil aviegne que dedeins le dit temps, apres la fyn du dit quarter, la dite monoye de France soit change, enhanse, et mys a meillure allay et value quil nest de present, adonques du temps de mesme leschange sera le dit Johan paies de moys en moys dautielx gages Journalx comes dessus pur lui et sa dite Retenue de la dite nouvelle monoye de la quelle il prendra le frank pur trois souldz desterlings. Et commenceront les dits gages et Regard pur lui et les susdits hommes darmes et archers le Jour enquel le dit Johan fera premierement sa monstre des mesmes les gens darmes et archers a la dite Bastille, apres la date de ceste presente endenture. Et fera le dit Johan monstres de lui et des dits gens darmes et archers et sera tousjours prest ovesque sa dite retenue bien montes, armes, et arraies pur chivacher et faire service a les susdits roys come il sera mandes, qant et si sovent come il en sera duement garnis et requis durant le dit temps. Et en cas q'aucuns des dits gens darmes qant ils sont mandes pur chi vacher et faire service as dits Roys soient troves sans monture convenable pur leur estats, adonques ne seront ils paies pur icel temps forsque pour gages des hommes darmes a pee assavoir pur chacun autielle persone oyt deniers le Jour. Et paiera le dit Johan au Roy nostre dit seigneur en nomme come dessus les tierces des gaignes de guerre sibien dicelles desqueux les gens de sa Retenue seront a lui respoignants de leur gaignes de guerre, soient ils prisonners, preyes, ou autres choses prinses, comes de ses gaignes propres, et tous les droits accustumes, et aussi lui Rendra et delivera tous les Capitains et lieutennants, si aucuns durant le dit temps seront par lui ou aucun de ses dits gens prinses, pour lesqueux fera mesme nostre seigneur le Roy raisonnable agreement a celui ou ceulx qui les auront prins. Et sur la Retenue et demoere du dit Johan devers le[a] tres excellent prince le Roy de France par manere come dit est, aura le dit Johan lettres patentes du dit Roy de France seallees desous son grand seal. Et ad le dit Johan emprins de saufment garder a son loial povair lavandit Bastille a lonneur et profits des dits Roys, et de non liverer icelle forsque a nostre dit seigneur le Roy Dengleterre, ou a ses heirs, en nomme de son dit pere, et delivrer a leur certain mandement par leur lettres. En tesmoignance de quelle chose a la partie de ceste endenture demorante devers le dit Johan nostre dit soveraine seigneur le Roy Dengleterre, en nomme come dessus, ad fait mettre son prive seal. Donné a Rouen le xxiiij[e] jour de Januer, Lan du grace Mille quatre cents et vyngt, Et du regne du Roy nostre dit soveraine seigneur oytisme.

(L.S.)

Indorsement :—

" An Indenture betwene the King & S[r] Jo: Fastolf, for the keping of an holde of St Anthony in Fraunce."

[Translation.]

This Indenture, made between [our] sovereign Lord Henry, by the grace of God King of England, heir and Regent of the realm of France, and Lord of Ireland, in the name of his very dear father Charles by the same grace King of France, and in his own name as Regent of the

[a] lui *in MS. by error.*

realm of France, of the one part, and John Fastolfe Knight, of the other part, Witnesseth that the said John is retained towards the said Kings, to keep the Bastille of Saint Anthony of Paris from the day of the date of this present Indenture to the end of an entire year, next ensuing. And the said John shall have constantly remaining with him for the safe keeping of the aforesaid Bastille twenty men of arms including himself, and sixty archers throughout the said year, well mounted, armed, and arrayed for the war as appertains to their conditions. And the said John shall take wages of war, to wit, for himself two shillings, for each of the said other men of arms twelve pence a day with the usual reward, and for each of the said archers six pence a day during the aforesaid time; of which wages and reward the said John shall be paid for one quarter of a year of the same time in hand, and for these payments he shall take the gold noble of England for four franks of the white money now current in France, or otherwise seven franks of the same white money for the aforesaid four franks, and for the residue of the aforesaid time the said John shall be paid monthly by the hands of the Treasurer General of France. And if it should happen that, during the said time, after the end of the said quarter, the said money of France were changed, enhanced, and put at a better alloy and value than it is at present, then from the time of that change the said John shall be paid monthly such other daily wages as above for himself and his said retinue of the said new money, of which he shall take the frank for three shillings sterling. And the said wages and reward shall commence for him and the aforesaid men of arms and archers the day in which the said John shall first make his muster of the said gensdarmes and archers at the said Bastille, after the date of this present Indenture. And the said John shall make musters of himself and his said gensdarmes and archers, and shall be always ready with his said retinue well mounted, armed, and arrayed to ride and do service to the aforesaid Kings as he shall be commanded, when and as often as he shall be duly warned and required during the said time. And in case any of the said gendarmes when they shall be commanded to ride and do service to the said Kings shall be found without equipment fit for their condition, they shall not be paid during such time except for the wages of men of arms on foot, that is to say, for each such person eight pence a day. And the said John shall pay to the King our said lord, in name as aforesaid, the thirds of the gains of war as well of those for which the people of his retinue shall be to him answerable to him for their gains of war, be they prisoners, preys, or other things captured, as also of his own gains, and all the droits accustomed; and also shall surrender and deliver to him all the captains and lieutenants, if any during the said time shall be taken by him or any of his said people, for the which our said lord the King shall make reasonable satisfaction to him or those who have taken them. And for the retainer and attendance of the said John towards the very excellent prince the King of France, in the manner aforesaid, the said John shall have letters patent of the said King of France sealed under his Great Seal. And the said John has undertaken to keep safely, to the extent of his loyal power, the aforesaid Bastille, to the honour and profit of the said Kings, and not to deliver up the same save only to our said lord the King of England, or his heirs, in the name of his said father, and to deliver at their sure command by their letters. In witness of which matter to the part of this Indenture remaining with the said John, our said sovereign lord the King of England, in name as above, has caused to be put his Privy Seal. Given at Rouen the twenty-fourth day of January, the year of grace One thousand four hundred and twenty, and of the reign of the King our said sovereign lord the eighth.

X.—*A Notice of some remarkable Inscriptions on Leaves of Lead, preserved in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. Communicated by* Walter De Gray Birch, *Esq.*

Read March 16, 1871.

In the year 1841 the British Museum purchased of the Reverend Thomas Butler, among some of the most valuable manuscripts and antiquities it possesses, six remarkable inscriptions, one Greek, four Latin, and one Italian, apparently inscribed with a sharply pointed stylus, upon plates of lead, beaten or hammered to about the thickness of a wafer, and now completely patinated.[a] As these do not appear to have been published, I propose to lay before you a description of them, accurate copies of their texts, and a few notes explanatory of the history and dates to which they refer.

1. The first, in the Greek language, is of rectangular shape, measuring three five-eighths by nearly four inches, upon a thin *bractea* or leaf of lead now patinated with a rich brown oxide, and roughly indented on the edges, the result either of injury or decay. It bears the following inscription:

ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΝ
ΚΑΙ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΟΥΣΙ
ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΣΥΝΕΠΙΧΩΡΗΣΑΙ
ΤΟΥΣ ΕΨΦΙΣΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΕΥΒΟΛΩΙ
ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΟΠΟΙΣ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙ ΔΕ
ΤΟΔΕ ΤΟ ΨΗΦΟΙΣΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ
ΣΤΕΛΗΝ ΛΙΘΙΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΣΑ
Ι ΕΝ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ.

The irregular method of spelling here noticed is not by any means an uncommon instance. We must bear in mind that at the period to which this belongs, that is probably between the eighth and the thirteenth century, Greek was written and pronounced, as indeed it is in the present day, with regard to the accent

[a] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 12,117.

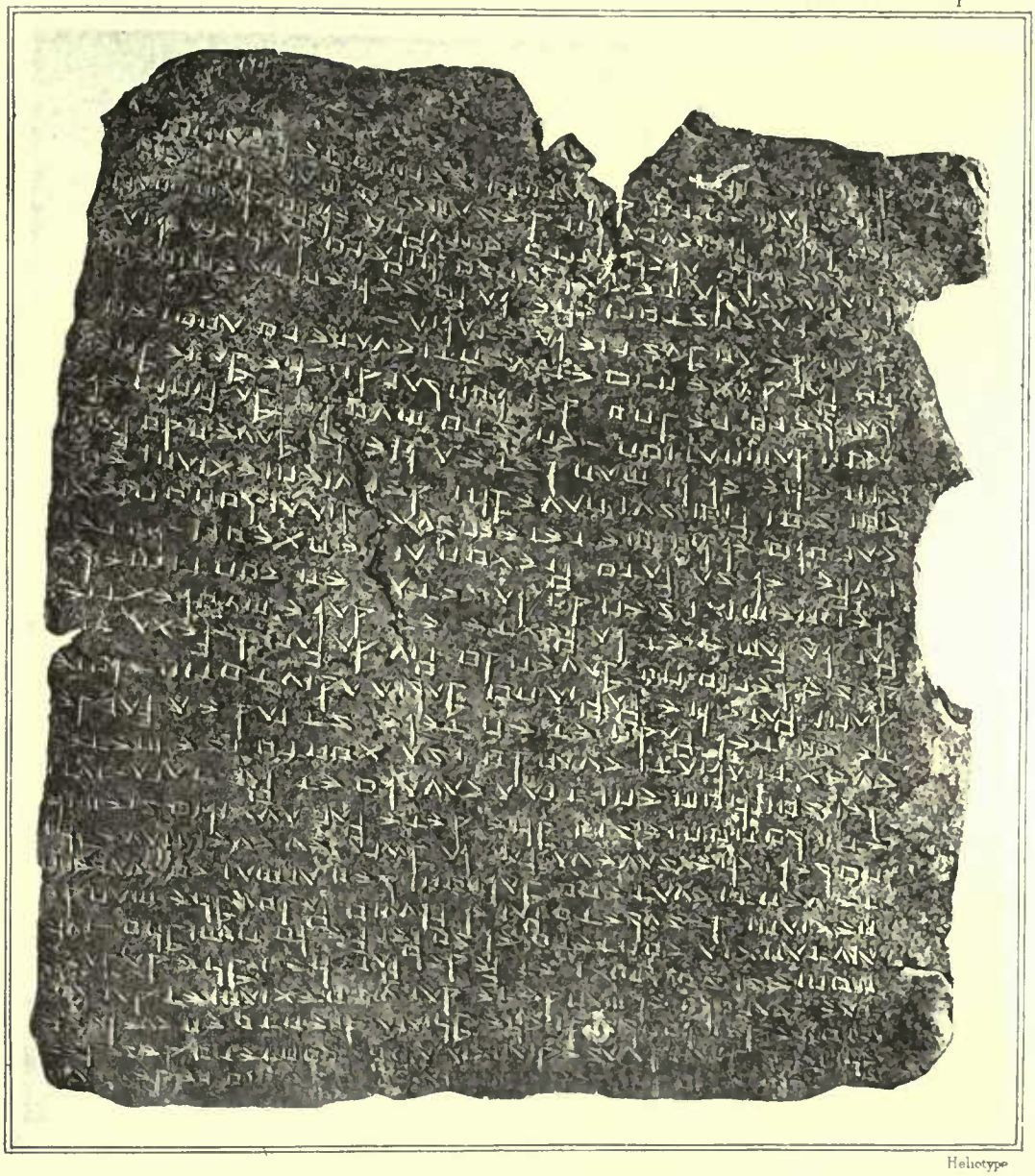
alone; this fully accounts for the η lost in the word ἐψφισμενοις; as for the ο in φιλανθροποις, and for the ε in στελην, it is probably the fact that there was no material difference in the sound of ο or ω, of ε or η. As υ was pronounced like our *y*, σινεπιχωρησαι conveyed to the Greek ear the same sound as συνεπιχωρῆσαι. Professor Babington considers the inscription badly copied or spurious. He proposes to read it as follows:—

. . . ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀθήνησιν βουλὴν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν, παρακαλέουσι τὸν δῆμον συνεπιχωρῆσαι τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις Εὐβούλῳ φιλανθρώπως, ἀναγράψαιδὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι ἐν Δημήτρος, ἄρχοντος . . . . . .

. . . to the Athenian senate and assembly; they recommend the people benevolently to concede to what has been voted in favour of Eubulus, and to inscribe this decree on a pillar, and to place it in the temple of Ceres (?) Dated by the archonship of . . . . . ?

2. An inscription upon a lamina of lead hammered to a very thin leaf, and from its appearance not so pure as the others of this series; it is now very much corroded and oxidised by the action of the air, and has been glued to a piece of card for security. In shape it is rudely rectangular, measuring three inches long by nearly four wide, and containing seventeen lines of Latin inscribed in a character somewhat resembling at first sight the Assyrian from the peculiarly angular manner in which it has been cut. The following is a transcript of the words in Roman type:—

1. ano dccxxiv in quoque diebus paulus
2. exarchus ravenne primas bononias ve-
3. niens et cum primatibus de illa civita-
4. te ad veneticos postulans quatenus
5. propriam urbem quam ildebrandum nepos
6. luitprandi regis et peredeus vicenti-
7. nus dux captam habuerat tutari atque
8. defendere eorum auxiliis potuisset—
9. cuius venetis faventes petitionibus
10. navali exercitu et cum bononiensem
11. classem ad prelibatam ravennam urbem
12. properantes—unus illorum ildebrandus
13. scilicet vivus ab illa captus est alter
14. vero qui dicebatur peredeus occisus
15. dimicando occubuerat et ravenna a fe-
16. deratis ad exarcha reddata fuit—
17. memor . . . . veneta—primo bello.



Heliotype

INSCRIBED PLATE OF LEAD, BRITISH MUSEUM.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1872.

The inscription reduced to its probable meaning should read thus:—

Anno dccxxiv. Iis quoque diebus Paulus Exarchus, Ravennæ primas, Bononias veniens, et cum primatibus de illa civitate ad Veneticos postulans, quatenus propriam urbem, quam Ildebrandus nepos Luitprandi Regis, et Peredeus, Vicentinorum dux, captam habuerat, tutari atque defendere eorum auxiliis potuisset. Cujus Venetici faventes petitionibus, navali exercitu et cum Bononiensi classe ad prælibatam Ravennam urbem properantes: unus illorum, Ildebrandus scilicet, vivus ab illâ captus est, alter vero, qui dicebatur Peredeus, occisus dimicando occubuerat, et Ravenna foederatis ad Exarchum reddita fuit.

memor ..... veneta—primo bello.

This inscription forms an actual portion of the *Chronicon Venetum*, written by Johannes, and ending in 1008, in Pertz's *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, vol. vi. p. 12, wherein we find the following:—

Cujus quoque diebus exarchus Ravennæ primas Venetias veniens nimiumque Veneticos postulans, quatenus propriam urbem, quam Ildebrandus nepos Luitprandi regis et Parabeus Vicentinus Dux captam habuerant, tueri atque defendere eorum auxiliis potuisset. Cujus Venetici faventes petitioni, navali cum exercitu prælibatam Ravennam ad urbem properantes, unus illorum, Ildebrandus scilicet, vivus ab eis captus est; alter vero qui dicebatur Parabeus, occisus dimicando occubuerat. Atque huiusmodi exarcho prælibato primati urbs decenter est restituta.

But whether the chronicler quotes from this tablet, or the tablet forms a portion of his work, is not easy to distinguish. I am inclined to think the former of these alternatives the most likely.

Luitprand, King of the Lombards, reigned from A.D. 712 to A.D. 744. Hildebrand, his nephew, becomes king (in conjunction with him) A.D. 736, and is dethroned in A.D. 744. The received date of Paul, as Exarch of Ravenna, appears to be about A.D. 727—728, which, if correct, is at variance with the date of the inscription. But if we consider him *titular* exarch and primate of Ravenna, according to the exact wording of the inscription, the date will correspond.

Ravenna became an exarchate, and capital of all Grecian Italy, in A.D. 568, and so remained until captured by Astolfus, King of the Lombards, in A.D. 752.

The following extract from Rubeus explains the circumstances mentioned in the inscription:—

..... Cum vero[a] Carolus se longe viribus imparem cerneret, in primis ab amico Luitprando opem exposcit, qui cum lectissimo militum robore in Galliam profectus, ad Ravennatem obsidionem persequendam, Ildebrandum nepotem, et Perendeum Vicentinorum ducem reliquit. Hi post

[a] Hieronymi Rubei *Historiarum Ravennatum* libri decem: Venetis, 1572, p. 187. Cf. Pauli Diaconi libri sex *de Origine et Gestis Regum Langobardorum*, 1514, lib. VI. cap. xv.

Luitprandi discessum, rei bene gerendæ occasionem nacti, per aliquot nobilium factionem, qui Cæsaris imperium ægre ferebant, urbe potiuntur, annum a partu Virginis circiter dccxxv Paulus Exarchus, quem Johanni Tyzocopo Leo Secundus Cæsar subrogaverat, elapsus fuga, ad Venetosque profectus, magno honore exceptus est, quem secuti sunt paulo post Gregorii Pontificis internuncii per litteras causam Exarchi commendantis, quarum litterarum exemplum ex Bernardo Justiniano, lib. x. descriptum hic apponendum putavimus.

The continuation will be given in the account of the next inscription, being the text of the papal letter. In consequence of the papal appeal, Ursus, Doge of Venice, collects his forces, and routs the two usurpers with the assistance of the Exarch. The statement of Rubeus thus concludes :—

Eo prælio[a] Perendeus, Vicentinorum dux, fugiens in Pineto occubuit; Ildebrandus in Ursi ducis potestatem venit. Exarcho sua restituta sedes est.

3. This inscription is also upon a plate of lead, hammered very thin, but in fair preservation, covered with a fine rich brown patina, and measuring six inches in width by four-and-a-half in length. The words are contained in fourteen lines, and are quite legible and perfect, the character being similar to that of the last-mentioned inscription. In Roman type it reads thus :—

1. gregorius episcopus servus servorum dei ad filii nostri
2. de civitate bononie salutem et apostolicam benedictionem
3. quia peccato faciente ravennantium civitas que erat caput
4. omnium a necdicenda gente langobardorum capta est et
5. filius noster eximius exarchus apud bononias ut cogno-
6. vimus moratur debeat nobilitatibus vestris ei adherere
7. et cum eo viceperiter decertare ut ad pristinum statum
8. sancte reipublice imperiale servitio dominorum filiorum-
9. que nostrorum leonis et constantini magnorum impera-
10. torum ipsa revocetur ravennantium civitas ut zelo et amo-
11. re fidei nostre in statu reipublice et imperiali servitio
12. firme persistere domino cooperante valeamus domine vos
13. incolumnen custodiat dilectisimi filii.
14. datum rome anno domini dccxxxviii—tertia—id—mart.

The probable meaning of the inscription is :—

Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, ad filios nostros de civitate Bononiæ salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quia, peccato faciente, Ravennantium civitas, quæ erat caput

[a] Rubeus, p. 190.

omnium, a necdicenda gente Langobardorum capta est, et filius noster eximius exarchus apud Bononias, ut cognovimus, moratur; debeat nobilitatibus vestris ei adhærere, et cum eo viceparitcr decertare, ut ad pristinum statum sanctæ reipublicæ imperiali servitio dominorum filiorumque nostrorum, Leonis et Constantini, magnorum imperatorum, ipsa revocetur Ravennantium civitas, ut zelo et amore fidei nostræ in statu reipublicæ et imperiali servitio firme persistere, Domino cooperante, valeamus. Dominus vos incolumes custodiat, dilectissimi filii.

Datum Romæ, Anno Domini DCCXXXVIII. Tertia Id. Mart. [13 March, 738.]

If the date of the inscription be correct, the Gregory herein mentioned is Gregory III., who was Pope from A.D. 731 to A.D. 741. Leo III., surnamed "Isauros," was Emperor from A.D. 717 to A.D. 741, and his son Constantine, surnamed "Copronymos," received the title of *Augustus* in A.D. 720, and was Emperor from A.D. 741 to A.D. 775.

Jaffé in his *Regesta Pontificum*, p. 177, Nos. 1670—1671, assigns this letter to Gregory II., who was Pope between the years 715 and 731, and considers it to have been indited before A.D. 729. This authority mentions that a similar rescript was addressed to Antoninus, Patriarch of Grado.

Rubeus and other chronielers print this rescript in various forms, as below, (the abbreviated words correspond with the tablet) :—

Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Urso Duci Venetiarum.

Quia, pe. favente, Ravennatum ci., quæ multarum caput extat ecclesiarum, a nefanda ge. Longobardorum ca. est, et fi. no. ex. Dominus ex. ap. Venetias, ut cog., mo., deb. nobilitas tua ei adh., et cum eo, nostra vice, pariter de., ut ad pr. st. sa. reipub. in imp. ser. Dom. f.-que nos. Le. et Cons., Mag. Imp., ip. rev. Ravennatum ci., zelo et am. sanctæ fi. nos. Deus te incolumem cust. dilectissime fili.

Rubeus, *l. c.*

Greg. Ep. ser. ser. Dei, dilecto filio Urso Duci Venetiarum, &c.

Quia, pe. fac., Ravennatium ci., quæ ca. er. om., a necdi. ge. Longobardorum ca. est, et fi. no. ex. Dominus Ex. ap. Venetias, ut cog., mo., deb. nobilitas tua ei adh., et cum eo, nostra vice, pariter de., ut ad pr. st. sa. reipub. in imp. serv. Dom. f.-que nos. Leo. et Const., Mag. Imp., ip. rev. Ravennatium ci., ut ze. et am. fi. nos. in st. reipub. et imp. serv. fir. per., Do. co., va. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime fili.

Andreæ Danduli *Chronicon*, *apud* Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Scriptt.* xii. 135.

Dilectissimo fratri Antonino Gregorius.

Quia, pec. fac., Ravenantium ci., qui cap. er. om., ab necdi. ge. Longobardorum cap. est, et fi. no. ex. dominus Ex. ap. Venecias, ut cog., mo., deb. tua fraterna sanctitas ei adæ. et cum eo, nostra vice, pariter de., ut ad. pr. st. sa. reipub. et imp. ser. dom. f.-que nos. Leo. et Const., Mag. Imp., ip. re. Ravenantium ci., ut ze. et am. sanctæ fi. nos. in st. reipub. et imp. ser. firmi per. Dom. quo coop. va. Deus te incolomen custudiat, dilectissime frater.

Johannis *Chronicon Venetum*, *apud* Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, vii. 12.

4. The fourth inscription is upon a similarly thin plate of hammered lead of rectangular shape, measuring when perfect four-and-a-half inches long by four broad; the edge is mutilated on the left side, and the centre of the lower edge is split and defective. This plate, which is represented on a somewhat enlarged scale by the accompanying photograph (Plate III.) printed in carbon by the Patent Heliotype process, contains thirty-one lines of words written in the peculiarly angular character already described, and in a language to all appearance that in use among the Venetians in the earliest days of the thirteenth century. The following is a correct transcript of the text in Roman type :—

(Add. MS. 12, 177 d.)

1. en telo anno dni dcclxxiv gavendo carolo re dei fran-
2. chi fato granda asedianxia a papia contero desede-
3. rio re dei lonbardi che ghiara drento en cuela ce-
4. tae—carolo el mandete dai vieniexiani et dai bo-
5. noniesi soi amixi et fedei parche i ghe daga
6. aiutanxia contero el so perfedo nemigho—i vie-
7. nexiani de subete par el fluvio pado i ghe mande-
8. te venticuatero galioni ben armai co cuatero
9. nobeli che saveva far la guara su cuei naveghi
10. et i bononiesi i ghe dete par auxilio sie mile
11. dei soi homeni tra a cavalo et par tara—tuti
12. cuexti aliati cuando i sa xonto i se mete-
13. te en tel pado et en tele strade a far dei
14. dani parche papia no gabia adiutorio—lo re
15. desiderio no gavendo piu a far defexa et
16. par la fame et par la pexte et da le muolextie
17. dei nemixe sendo la cetae en continue ba-
18. rufe el sa fato prexon ai venxiori—lo re
19. carolo el lo metete en guardia ai bononiesi
20. coi soi fioi sui naveghi dei vieniexiani en-
21. sin che el li mandete a liege gavendo fato
22. condamnation—en sto muodo ga finio el
23. barbero regno dei lonbardi che ga regnex-
24. to par duxento et venticuatero anni en
25. grande angustie la etalia—
26. cuexta enstori che la fo scherita en mem-
27. branacea da mexier orso hipato da hieraclia
28. et sendo alchuanto corupta e la fo da mi marin
29. dandulo procurador de sancto marcho fato
30. spiegamento dal latino sermone lo anno
31. dni mccii.

The equivalent in modern Italian words would be something like this:—

Nell' anno 774 Carlo Rè dei Franchi avendo fatto grand' assedio a Pavia contro Desiderio Rè dei Lombardi che era dentro quella città, Carlo mandò ai Veneziani ed ai Bolognesi, suoi amici e fedeli, perchè gli dessero aiuto contro il suo perfido nemico. I Veneziani subito gli mandarono pel fluvio Pò ventiquattro galleoni ben armati con quattro nobili che sapevano far la guerra, sui quali navigli i Bolognesi [anche] gli diedero per ausilio sei mila dei loro uomini di Cavalleria e di Fanteria [*lit.* per terra]. Tutti questi alleati, quando furono riuniti, si metterono a far danno al Pò ed alle strade, perchè Pavia non ricevesse aiuto. Il Rè Desiderio non potendo più far difesa a causa della fame e della peste, e delle molestie dei nemici, la città essendo in continue baruffe, fù fatto prigione dai vincitori. Rè Carlo lo mise in guardia coi Bolognesi coi suoi figli, sui navigli Veneziani, finchè lo mandasse in legami doppo averne fatto condamnazione. In questo modo finì il barbaro Regno dei Lombardi che [già] aveva tenuto l'Italia in grande angustie per ducento ventiquattro anni.

Questa storia che fù scritta in membrana da Messer Orso Hipato di Hieraclia, essendo alquanto corotta, fù da me Marin Dandulo, Procuratore di San Marco, spiegato dal Latino sermone nell' anno 1202.

Rubeus contains the following contemporary account of the events mentioned in the inscription:—

. . . . . Carolus Gallorum Rex, comparato exercitu, per inaccessas rupes, non sine multorum cæde transmissis Alpibus, Desiderium Ticinum rejecit, atque eâdem in urbe conclusum, altera tantum eademque prima copiarum parte obsedit; alteram dimisit ad alias Longobardi nominis urbes capiendas: atque ipsam præsertim Veronam, ubi Desiderius liberos et uxorem, argentum, aurum, vestem, elegantioremque ac præstantiorem suppellectilem deposuerat. Romam ipse ad Pontificem profectus, maximis honoribus exceptus est. Ibi aliquot dies moratus, patritii Romani dignitate impetratâ, multisque una cum Hadriano compositis rebus post sextum obsidionis mensem ad urgendum gravius Ticinum revertitur. Desiderius, desperatis rebus, deditionem facit; ob quam Longobardorum regnum, quod per ducentos ac viginti annos Italiam occupaverat, finem habuit. Carolus, quod dono Pipinus pater Stephano secundo Pontifici Maximo dederat,[a] ac potius restituerat, idem ipse, et inter cetera Exarchatum Ravennatem, Ravennamque ipsam amplioribus privilegiis jurejurando confirmavit. Pontifici autem et Carolo Longobardam gentem non omnino delere visum est, multis arctisque affinitatibus cum Italico sanguine conjunctam et Ravennatem Exarchatum Romanam provinciam appellari, quam modo corrupta voce Romagnam vocamus.[b]

Desiderius, last King of the Lombards, was besieged by Charlemagne at Pavia [= Ticinum], and taken captive in A.D. 774; he was afterwards sent to the monastery of Corbie, where he died.

[a] Stephen II., by this possession of Ravenna in A.D. 754, laid the foundation of the temporal power of the Holy See.

[b] Rubeus, *l. c.*, p. 202. Cf. Carolus Sigonius *de Rebus Bononiensibus Historia.* Frankf. 1604, p. 33.

Orso Ipato, or Ursus Hypatus of Eraclia (an ancient town close to the Venetian archipelago, between Albinum and Opitergium on the sea coast;—see Filiasi, map 2, vol. vii., and index, pp. 87-89;—also called Melidissa, or Citta Nuova), was the third Doge of Venice [726-737], and many interesting particulars of the part he played in Venetian history may be read in Filiasi, *Memorie de' Veneti*, tom. v. p. 213, chapter xvi-xvii. and index, vol. vii. p. 192, for a synoptical review of his life. See also tom. iii. pp. 62—84, chapter vii. for an account of the ancient state of Eraclia. It would appear that he died 37 years before the events stated in the concluding sentence to have been written by him on a parchment; but probably there were other Orsi of this well-known and most powerful family of Eraclia, whose struggles for supremacy are discussed with interesting length by Filiasi. (*loc. cit.*)

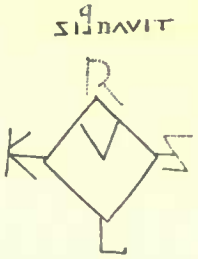
Marinus Dandulus, Procurator of St. Mark at Venice, was a near relative of Enrico Dandolo, or Henricus Dandulus, Doge of Venice from A.D. 1192 to 1205. The name of Marin Dandulo occurs in the *Inscrizioni Veneziane* of Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, iv. p. 541, as a witness in A.D. 1210 to a deed, wherein he is styled "Consigliero del Doge Pietro Ziani." He appears to have been A.D. 1229 unsuccessful in obtaining the vacant Dogeship, when Jacopo Tiepolo was elected, on the retirement of Pietro Ziani, who had succeeded Henrico Dandolo in A.D. 1205.*

5. A very thin leaf of hammered lead, rectangular in shape, measuring about six and a half by four inches, now much cracked and oxidized with a fine chocolate-coloured patina. It contains thirteen lines of Latin, inscribed in a character similar to that already described. The following is the text of the inscription in Roman type:—

1. in nomine sancte et individue trinitatis carolo divina ordinante clementia
2. imperator augustus —
3. hic enim fecit et ordinavit anno christi —decci— ocidentalis imperialis titulos
4. est adeptus—ita quidem ocidentali imperio ab orientali avulso ut neapolis

* Il Caroldo dice "che parve al Tiepolo appena creato doge di andar a visitar m. Marin Dandolo eh' era stato suo concorrente, il quale giaceva a letto, et si scusò non poterlo admeter allora. Fu stimato che ciò facesse in disprezzo del duce perchè non lo teneva di quella nobiltà com' era esso Dandolo, della cui prole erano stati molti degni cittadini, et massimamente m. Henrico Dandolo che fu duce di singular virtù dal quale la republica Veneta deve riconoscer gran parte della grandezza sua; et anco diceva essergli spiaciuta questa nuova forma di ascender per sorte al ducato."—Cicogna, *Inscriz. Venez.* iv. pp. 534, 535.

5. et sipontum orientem versus cum sicilia grecorum eset beneventum
6. remanerent longobardis—veneti neutri parti adscriberentur—status
7. ecclesie liber eset cum exarchatu ravenne sine bononia que per servitios
8. et fidelitate prestata carolo magno imperatori declarata fuit libera ab
9. omnibus jurisditionibus et muneravit ad eam comaclum cum piscariis et adia-
10. centiis suis in perpetuo tenean et posideant disponantque utilitas ipsius
11. loci pro beneficio civitatis quieto tramite vivere et residere debeant
12. anno dominice incarnationis dccci—quarto decimo kal—octobris.
13. actum in urbe bononie—



The probable equivalent in correct Latin would be as follows :—

In nomine Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis Carolus divina ordinante clementia Imperator Augustus. Hic enim fecit et ordinavit, anno Christi dccci: occidentalis imperialis titulos est adeptus:—ita quidem occidentali imperio ab orientali avulso, ut Neapolis et Sipontum orientem versus cum Sicilia Græcorum esset:—Beneventum remaneret Longobardis:—Veneti neutri parti adscriberentur:—status ecclesiæ liber esset cum Exarchatu Ravennæ, sine Bononiâ, quæ per servitia et fidelitatem præstitam Carolo Magno Imperatori declarata fuit libera ab omnibus jurisdictionibus; et muneravit ad eam Comaclum cum piscariis et adjacentiis suis in perpetuo; teneant et possideant disponantque utilitates ipsius loci pro beneficio civitatis; quieto tramite vivere et residere debeant. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis dccci. Quarto decimo kal. Octobris. [Sept. 18.]

Signavit

Actum in urbe Bononiæ. Karolus. [*Monogr.*]

By this instrument, dated 18 September, 801, Charlemagne assumes the title of *Occidentalis Imperialis;* fixes the boundary between the Eastern and Western Empire by a line drawn from Naples to Siponto (now Manfredonia) on the opposite coast; the territory to the east, including Sicily, but excluding Beneventum, which was to remain under the rule of the Lombards, is apportioned to the Greeks; Venice is to remain neutral; the States of the Church, that is, the temporal power first commenced by Pope Stephen II. in the year 754, in his possession of Ravenna, are to be free, and retain the Exarchate of Ravenna, but not Bologna, which is hereby declared free, and *Comacchio* is ceded to this latter city.[a]

[a] Cf. Rubeus, *l.c.*, p. 208. *Circ.* 801. "Cymaclum etiam [Carolus] cepit; quamquam, ut ex vetustissimis constat Ursianæ Bibliothecæ monumentis, Ravennatum jurisdictio ad omnes illas civitates permanebat."

With regard to the assumption of title by Charlemagne, the account given by Carolus Sigonius in the *Historia de Rebus Bononiensibus*, Frankf. 1604, p. 33, is as follows:—

Ineunte inde anno a Christo nato octingentesimo primo, Carolus a Leone III. Pontifice, ad cujus defensionem adversus pravam Romanorum libidinem advocatus accurrerat, virtutis ergò ac benevolentiæ, quam ergà rempublicam Christianam haberet, Occidentis Imperator appellatus est, vetere post trecentesimum vicesimum quintum annum titulo renovato.

Rubeus also says:—

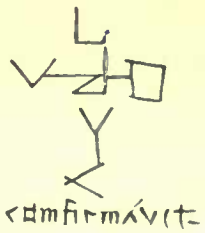
Ad Carolum igitur redeo, qui Romam profectus, ... nocte quæ ob Christi Dei ortum anniversaria vicissitudine celeberrima habetur, sceptro dato, coronam Imperii ingeniculatus accepit, et confestim Romanus Imperator ac Cæsar Augustus appellatus est, anno a partu Virginis primo supra octingentesimum.

6 This leaden plate measures six inches in breadth by five and a quarter in length, and is very much cracked. The edge has been mutilated, and the left-hand upper corner is wanting, a piece of metal one inch broad by one and a half long being required to complete it. The inscription is contained in twenty-one lines, and is in a character corresponding to that in which the previous inscriptions are written.

The injury appears to have been done by some one who has made a rubbing of the inscription which broke under the operation. Fortunately the plate was wrapped up in a paper containing an eighteenth-century transcript of the words before the mutilation was effected; but this also is now so much faded as to be in parts illegible. The words here introduced in brackets come from this source. The inscription in Roman type would stand thus:—

1. *b*]ononie
2. [*in nomin*]e sancte et individue trinitatis ludovicus secundus
3. [*divina c*]lementia imperator semper augustus in suam fidelem civitatem
4. [*bononi*]e convocare fecit nuncios de omnibus civitatibus lombard[*ie*]
5. [*que su*]nt cremona mediolanum laus bergomum ferraria brixia verona
6. [*vicen*]tia patavium tarvisium ravenna ariminium mutina regium parma
7. [*place*]ntia bobium derthon vercela novaria obizo marchio malaspina
8. [. . . . .]s de brenone et omnes castelani in societate statuerunt
9. [*pace*]m cum pontifice romano et ut que concedit carolmagno principe
10. [*ius*]to et magnanimo—imperator ludovicus habere debeat sicut
11. [*an*]tecesores habuisse fodrum regale et consuetum consuetam
12. pacatam cum tendit romam corone causa et pacatum transitum
13. et comeatum idoneum pacate transeat et sine maleficio

14. sacramentum a vasalis acipiat omni ofensione remissa—vasali
15. expeditiones pro eo suscipiant ut solent cum tendit romam corone
16. cause—ad civitatem bononiam libertatem et munificentiam permisa
17. sint legibus propriis ita vivere et alteri non liceat mutare volun-
18. tatem suam signum domini imperatori
19. clotarius cancellarius recognovi augusti.
20. et subscripsi
21. data—ii—id—Febr.—anno incarnationis
22. dcccIvii in civit—bononie feliciter—amen.



The import intended to be conveyed by this instrument is probably as follows:

. . . . . Bononiæ.

In nomine Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, Ludovicus Secundus, divina clementia Imperator, semper Augustus, in suam fidelem civitatem Bononiæ convocare fecit nuncios de omnibus civitatibus Lombardiæ, quæ sunt, Cremona, Mediolanum, Laus, Bergomum, Ferraria, Brixia, Verona, Vicentia, Patavium, Tarvisium, Ravenna, Ariminium, Mutina, Regium, Parma, Placentia, Bobium, Derthon, Vercela, Novaria, Obizo, Marchio, Malaspina, ... s de Brenone, et omnes Castelani in societate statuerunt pacem cum Pontifice Romano, et ut, quæ concederunt Carolo magno Principi justo et magnanimo, Imperator Ludovicus habere debeat, sicut antecessores habuerunt, fodrum regale et consuetu[dine]m consuetam pacatam cum tendit Romam coronæ causâ, et pacatum transitum, et commeatum idoneum pacate transeat; et sine maleficio sacramentum a vasalis accipiat, omni offensione remissâ; vasali expeditiones pro eo suscipiant, ut solent cum tendit Romam coronæ causâ; ad civitatem Bononiam libertatem et munificentiam; permissa sit legibus propriis ita vivere et alteri non liceat mutare voluntatem suam.

Signum Domini Imperatoris Augusti. Ludovicus [*Monogr.*]
Clotarius, Cancellarius recognovi et subscripsi. confirmavit.
Data ii. Id. Febr. [12 Febr.] Anno Incarnationis dcccIvii, in civitate Bononiæ feliciter. Amen.

Louis II., surnamed "Le Jeune," was born about 822, and became joint Emperor and King of Italy in 849, Emperor of the West in 855, and died in 875.

According to the tenor of this document a meeting of *nuncii* is held in Bologna, A.D. 857, from the various Lombard cities, namely, Cremona, Milan, Lodi, Bergamo, Ferrara, Breschia, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Ravenna, Rimini, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Plaisanza, Bobbio, Tortona, Vercelli, Novara, Marca, Malaspina, and Breno, whereby various privileges, including the "*fodrum*

regale" or royal due of fodder, *annona militaris*,[a] are confirmed to the Emperor, who on his part confirms the freedom and immunity of Bologna.

These five tablets call our attention to a remarkable phase in the formation of the Italian language upon the base of the Latin. They are fairly preserved, considering the perishable nature of the material upon which they are inscribed. Many of the letters still retain the thin scraping of metal struck out by the stylus at the time of writing. The inscription dated A.D. 1202 shows the state of the dialect of Northern Italy previous to its crystallization under the hand of the immortal Dante at the extreme limit of this same century, the thirteenth[b]; and those of the eighth and ninth centuries indicate the gradual corruption of the pure Latin forms into this state of transition.

Such forms as *teneau* for *teneant*, *utilitas* for *utilitates*, *consuetum* for *consuetudinem*, *servitios* for *servitia*, *reddata* and *prestata* for *reddita* and *prestita*, together with an almost general omission of one of the double consonants occurring in words compounded with a preposition, paved the way by an easy descent into the dialect now in use among the north-eastern Italians. The peculiar orthography of *sa xonto* for *se* adjun*xerunt* seems to point out that *x* had the sound of *sh* or *j*, as at present. But above all, the grammar, especially of subjunctive clauses, undergoes in these evidences a remarkable alteration from the well-defined rule of the Latin syntax into the uncertain and arbitrary methods seen in No. 5, l. 3, 10, 11; No. 6, l. 11, 13, 16.

Whether the date of the actual preparation of these documents is coeval with that of the events they indicate, or whether, as is perhaps more likely, they are to be referred to the early years of the thirteenth century, as in the case of the attestation of Marin Dandulo in No. 4, is not an easy question to solve.[c] We

[a] Ducange, *Glossarium*: s. v. Fodrum.

[b] Cf. Vinc. Nannucci, *Manuale della Letteratura del primo secolo della Lingua Italiana*, 2 vols. Florence, 1856.

[c] The existence of documents of this nature is corroborated by Mons. A. Deloye, in a dissertation *Des Chartes Lapidaires en France* in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, t. iii. IIme Series, p. 36. The writer asserts that only two such metallic charters are known in France. The one purporting to proceed from Charlemagne, "in pagina ærea," is suspected by Mabillon; the other, a bull of Pope Innocent III. (1198—1216), addressed to the Archbishop of Tours:* Quoiqu'on ne connaisse en France que deux chartes métalliques, ... il est probable que le moyen âge en a produit autant que de chartes lapidaires. Si elles n' existent plus, c'est que les métaux s'altèrent par le feu, et qu'ils tentent la cupidité bien plus que le marbre ou les pierres, dont il est difficile de changer la destination."

* Cette bulle était conservée dans l'église de Tours sur une table de plomb; elle sanctionnait la soumission de l'église de Dol à l'archevêché de Tours. D. Morice, *Hist. de Bretagne*, t. i. pr. col. 759.

know that in the ninth century the custom of writing precious matter upon metallic leaves obtained; indeed the custom does not seem to have failed from the classical period when it was the fashion to inscribe maledictions upon leaden leaves, afterwards deposited in some sacred precinct, until the time when George Archbishop of Ravenna appropriated a copy of the New Testament written upon leaves of gold belonging to his cathedral;[a] on the other hand, the facts that the sentence, bearing date A.D. 1202, in No. 4, is written in a character bearing precisely the same features as those shown in the specimens of the eighth and ninth centuries, and that the contents of No. 2 occur almost word for word in the *Chronicon Venetum* of Johannes, brought down by the author to the year 1008, seem to point out that they are to be referred to a period contemporary with this later one; and looking at this side of the question as an established fact, and the improbability that two inscriptions, one written in A.D. 721 and the other in A.D. 1202, would exhibit the same characteristic form of lettering, we arrive at once at a choice between two courses; either that these tables must be considered to form part of the archives of Bologna, and were prepared by transcription from the actual originals composed in the times they treat upon, under the authority of that state, and in the thirteenth century,—in this case they may have been torn from larger sheets of lead containing a chronicle of which they are mere fragments;—or that they have been prepared by some clever inventor of the same mediæval time to illustrate a point in the history of Bologna, namely the privileges granted to it by the early emperors; important of course, but too well known and too universally admitted on all sides to require confirmation in so surreptitious a manner. From the philologist these inscriptions claim a long and careful investigation; in them he will find an alphabet, resembling at the first glance that of ancient Assyria, being mostly composed of characters formed with wedge-shaped indentations; a language remarkable as a border-land between the luxuriance of Roman rhetoric and the barrenness of barbaric solecisms—albeit in some of its forms foreshadowing a new glory yet to come upon it; and a grammar as peculiar as the language in which it is expressed, or as the alphabet in which it is written. To the antiquary these few leaves of soft lead, pre-

[a] Georgius or Gregory was appointed to the see of Ravenna in A.D. 838; he "... saisit les trésors de son église." Deodatus or Dieudonné succeeded in A.D. 846. (Richard & Giraud.) "Novæ etiam divinæ legis instrumentum, *tabulis ex auro incisum*, compluresque preterea ex auro coronas de templo Divorum Johannis et Pauli abstraxerat [Georgius], ut Hludovici Secundi filiam, cui Geltrudæ nomen est impositum, dum sacrâ baptismatis undâ perfunderetur, sustineret, muneribusque donaret amplissimis." (Rubeus, p. 214.)

served for seven hundred or it may be a thousand years, so well as to show still clinging to them the curled shreds scraped out by the stylus of the scribe, seem to promise that the series of which they form so small a part may yet be brought to light; and it is sufficient for me to say that, at present, they are considered unique specimens of their kind. To the historian, whether of Italy or of Europe, they present accounts of importance in the shape of direct, new, and irrefragable proofs connected with the history of Northern Italy at a time involved in some doubt and obscurity.

XI.—*On Mediæval Representations of the Months and Seasons. Communicated by* James Fowler, *Esq., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Yorkshire.*

Read November 23rd, 1871.

None of the phenomena of Nature can earlier, or more widely, or more deeply have attracted notice and curiosity than the phenomena of the Seasons; and none, probably, earlier or more widely became embodied in art and poetry. For that reason few subjects, probably, would prove of greater interest in themselves, or in the light which they reflected, incidentally, on the life and thought of those who have gone before us, if undertaken by an accomplished antiquary, than the enumeration, and description, and comparison of the different modes of representing the Seasons employed in different countries and ages, from the earliest to the latest times. Few subjects, on the other hand, could be chosen less fit for unexhaustive or discursive treatment, or that would sooner exhibit the incompetence of him who is incapable of more. I would willingly, however, bear this reflection, should the notes which I have collected be thought worthy of the attention of this Society, or should they, imperfect as they are, hereafter induce others, more able than myself, to contribute what they have seen and thought upon the subject.

It would seem that in the middle ages, whether in illuminated manuscripts, early printed books, clogg almanacs, cut stone, carved wood, metal-work, incised pavers, encaustic tiles, mosaics, wall-paintings, or painted glass, representations of the months and seasons were of frequent occurrence. For each Month, the custom was to represent the corresponding sign of the Zodiac, or some characteristic symbol or occupation, or both, with or without the name of the month or other inscription. The Seasons were usually represented by symbols or occupations only.

Representations of the occupations of the months or of the signs of the Zodiac are so common in ancient manuscripts, early printed books, and clogg almanacs, that it will be unnecessary to mention more than one or two of each by way of example.

The Calendar, Cotton. MSS., Tiberius, B. v. in the British Museum, is not less interesting for the manner in which the labours of the months are depicted than

for its early date, being referred by Mr. Bond to, probably, the end of the tenth century. This series was engraved by Strutt (Horda Angel Cynnan, vol. i. tab. x. xi. xii.) and is referred to by Sharon Turner in his History of the Anglo-Saxons (vol. ii. p. 546). It is as follows:—

MONTHS.	OCCUPATIONS.
JANUARY - -	Men ploughing, with four oxen. One in front, drives; another holds the plough; and another, behind, scatters seed. (1.)*
FEBRUARY -	Three men pruning trees, of which some resemble vines. (2.)
MARCH - -	A man digging; another breaking the ground with a pick; and a third sowing. (3.)
APRIL - - -	Three persons (a man between two women) are sitting upon an ornamental settle, feasting, with two attendants; one is pouring out liquor into a horn, and another is blowing a horn or pipe. (4.)
MAY - - - -	A shepherd is sitting; his flocks are about him, feeding; one man has a lamb in his arms; three other persons are looking on. (5.)
JUNE - - -	Three men, each with a sickle, are cutting standing corn; another is stooping, as though about to bind some up; three are filling a cart; and one is blowing a horn. (6.)
JULY - - -	Three men are felling trees, with axes; one is lifting the trunk of a tree into a cart; two oxen, yoked, are standing by. (7.)
AUGUST - -	Four men, with scythes, are mowing grass; one is sharpening his scythe with a whetstone; one is standing by with a fork. (8.)
SEPTEMBER -	A boar hunt, with spears and dogs; a servant blowing a horn. (9.)
OCTOBER - -	Hawking. (10.)
NOVEMBER -	A large fire, and heap of wood by the side of it, from which a man is taking a faggot to put on; three men holding out their hands as though to warm them. (11.)
DECEMBER -	Two men are threshing, with flails; others are carrying grain in a basket slung upon a pole; one has a measure, as if to ascertain the quantity; and another, on a notched stick, seems o be marking what is measured and taken away. (12.)

* The Arabic numerals inclosed in parentheses refer throughout to the notes which will be found at the end of the paper.

There is another illustrated calendar of about the same date, also of English workmanship (Julius, A. VI.), and of later periods there are several, in which both the occupations of the months and the signs of the Zodiac are represented. A series of signs of the Zodiac exists in a calendar of the early part of the twelfth century, in the Cathedral Library at Durham; and numerous other examples of different dates might be supplied from public and private sources in various parts of the kingdom.

The illustrated calendars in early printed books are also numerous. One of the pages in the Cologne Edition of Bede, headed "Mensium Notæ," is occupied by a series of small wood-cuts and mottoes emblematical of the months of the year, full of Gothic feeling. The sign of the Zodiac belonging to each month is shown in the upper part of the cut, in a cloud, and the symbol occupies the remainder of the space; but the pictures do not seem to have much to do with the letter-press with which they are bound up, or, in all cases, even with the mottoes attached to them.

MONTH.	MOTTO. (13.)	SIGN. (14.)	SYMBOL.
JANUARIUS - -	Poto,	A man pouring water out of a vessel under his arm, for Aquarius	A king and three others feasting at a table spread with viands. A large fire of wood blazing on the hearth. (15.)
FEBRUARIUS - -	Ligna cremo,	A fish, for Pisces	Two men felling trees. (16.)
MARTIUS - - -	De vite superflua demo.	A ram, for Aries	A man training a vine up some trellis-work; another digging with a spade; a woman sowing seeds in a flower-bed; behind, two pots with plants in them. (17.)
APRILIS - - -	Do germen gratum, (18)	A bull, for Taurus	A hunting scene. A stag, pursued by dogs and men, is running; one man holds a pair of greyhounds by a string, and blows a horn. (See note 9.)
MAJUS - -	Mihi flos servit,	Two children, for Gemini	A crowned figure kneeling before a wayside cross. A priest (?) behind. (19.)
JUNIUS - - -	Mihi pratum.	An eight-legged reptile with narrow body, long tail, and two horns and eyes, for Cancer	Sheep-shearing. Two figures seated on stools, with sheep on their knees, are clipping with spring shears. (20.)
JULIUS - - -	Spicas declino,	A lion, for Leo	Two men mowing grass, with scythes; a third, with a rake, making a hay-cock. (21.)

MONTH.	MOTTO.	SIGN.	SYMBOL.
AUGUSTUS - -	Messes meto,	A female figure reclining, with a bunch of corn in her hand, for Virgo (22.)	Two men cutting corn with sickles and hooks, the latter apparently for holding the corn before cutting it. A woman holding up a sheaf. (See note 6.)
SEPTEMBER -	Vina propino.	A pair of scales, for Libra	Apple-gathering; one man up a tree, mounted on a tall ladder. (23.)
OCTOBER - - -	Semen humi jacto,	Eight-legged reptile something like a lobster, for Scorpio	One man gathering grapes; another bearing a basket-ful on his shoulders; two others treading a vat, from which the juice is running into a tun; a fifth pouring wine out of a jug into a hooped cask by means of a funnel. (24.)
NOVEMBER - -	Mihi pasco sues,	A half man, half horse, shooting an arrow, for Sagittarius	Men knocking down acorns from oaks, with staves; swine below, feeding. (25.)
DECEMBER	Mihi macto.	A goat, for Capricornus	A man leaning over a pig, preventing its escape with his left hand, and running a knife into its throat with his right; a woman catching the blood in a receptacle at the end of a pole like a warming pan; another man hurrying a pig onward to be killed. (26.)

On the Runic Calendars and Staffordshire Clogg Almanacs, to which a new interest has been given by the able paper of Dr. J. Barnard Davis, in the *Archæologia*, xli. 453-478, the months and days of the month are represented, as is well known, not only by notches and by symbols of Saints' days, but by symbols also of the characteristic employments of the different seasons. Thus, upon a Runic Calendar, engraved by Cahier in his *Caractéristiques des Saints*, we have as follows:—

MONTH.	DAY.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY -	1	A drinking-horn with the mouth turned to the left, for the prolongation of the Christmas feast. (See note 15.)
	5	The same, with the mouth turned to the right, to indicate that the feast is interrupted.

MONTH.	DAY.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - -	13	The same, inverted, to indicate that the feast is ended.
	25	A bow, for the commencement of the winter hunting season.
FEBRUARY - -	13	A pruning hook, or grafting knife. (See note 2.)
	28	A flat fish, for the fishing season.
MARCH - - -	1	A full-faced sun, indicative of spring.
	2	A hut, with an ox's head, showing that oxen still require to be tended before going out to grass.
	5	A leg, crossed by a shuttle, that good housewives may now weave stockings for their families. (See note 67.)
	10	A tree in leaf.
	21	An instrument of agriculture, resembling a kind of hoe, or drill, for the spring sowing season. (See note 3.)
	30	A barrel, for March beer.
APRIL - - -	1	A ship, for navigation season.
	13	A tree shooting, and a little white flower. (See note 39.)
	25	A tree in full leaf, with a bird singing on one bough. The cuckoo in some countries is supposed to sing for the first time this day. (See note 75.)
MAY - -	1	A large bird, for the hatching time of domestic fowls.
	9	A small bird, for the hatching time of small wild-fowl. (See note 75.)
	22	A fish, for fishing season; and A tree in full leaf, for the season. (See note 75.)
	30	A milk-pail, for the plentiful supply now rendered by the newly springing pastures. (See note 51.)
JUNE - -	8	A fishing line, for salmon and pike.
	15	A turnip, which plant now begins to emerge from the soil.
JULY - -	4	A sheaf of corn, or bundle of hay, for harvest. (See notes 21 and 68.)
	15	A rake, surrounded by stars, possibly to indicate that at this time the harvest should be got in by night as well as day.
	17	A bunch of fruit hanging from a stalk. (See note 43.)
	24	A twig with acorns on, to indicate that now the acorns (hog food) have begun to form.
AUGUST	10	A flail, harvest being now in. (See note 73.)
	17	A harrow, indicating that, notwithstanding, the husbandman has no rest.
	24	A pole, with hops on.
SEPTEMBER -	4	Shears, for sheep-shearing.
	8	A flock of birds, indicating the migration of swallows about this time.

MONTH.	DAY.	SYMBOL.
SEPTEMBER -	11	An acorn, inclined towards the ground, for the fall of hog-mast. (See notes 25 and 44.)
	15	A little bird; the northern peasantry leaving the last sheaf of oats out for the birds, when their harvest was got in.
	19	A stag, for hunting. (See note 9.)
OCTOBER - -	1	A fish, for the autumnal catching and salting time.
	4	A wool-card, for the wool shorn in the month but one preceding.
NOVEMBER -	1	A boat upside down, for the end of navigation.
	11	A goose, in season at Martinmas.
DECEMBER - -	1	The barbed end of an iron staff, for walking on ice.
	1—5	A sledge, the chief means of transport in the winter of the North.
	9	A can of beer, for the festival of S. Anne, the patron of good housewives.
	16	A shuttle and wool, for housewives by the winter fire-side. (See note 67.)
	25	Two horns crossed, for the commencement of the Christmas feast and social pleasure. (See Note 33.)
	31	A horn, to indicates its continuance.

On Dr. Davis's magnificent enamelled Runic Calendar we have :—

MONTH.	DAY.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - -	1	Two drinking-horns, one across the other.
	6	One drinking-horn.
	13	The same, inverted.
	25	A bow and hunting-knife.
FEBRUARY - -	25	A fish.
MARCH - - -	7	A leg with an arm above it, and then a shuttle.
	24	A goat browsing.
APRIL - -	3	A fish.
	13	A tree in leaf.
	18	A cow standing with a calf laid by her. ("Llouth after calve cu.")
	25	A little bird singing on the branch of a tree.
MAY - - -	1	A flock of nine birds flying in the air; below, a boat turned upside down.

MONTH.	DAY.	SYMBOL.
MAY - - -	12	A goose standing.
JUNE - - -	9	A man seated on the edge of a stream, fishing.
	18	Two beautiful flowers.
	30	A small shrub in full bloom.
JULY - - -	3	A beautiful plant in flower.
		A scythe, for the hay.
	15	A rake with twelve stars above it.
	25	A small plant like a strawberry, with two ripe fruits upon it. A knife stands up in the midst.
AUGUST - -	3	A sack standing up, filled with corn.
	17	A harrow.
	24	A long straggling hop-plant.
	30	A stag running to the right.
SEPTEMBER -	8	A basket filled apparently with flowers and fruit.
	12	A tree, probably indicative of the ripeness of hog-mast.
	18	A hog.
	25	A barrel.
OCTOBER - -	1	A boat turned right side up.
	5	A harrow.
	14	A tree with flowers upon it.
	22	A horse galloping, to the left.
	25	A straggling tree, with a bird on one branch.
NOVEMBER- -	11	A goose.
DECEMBER- -	4	A sledge.
	21	A drinking-horn. The time for brewing Christmas ale.
	25	A figure of the infant Jesus, nimbed, with five cornucopiæ striped of various colours.

It will be remarked that, in the manuscripts, the ideas of the artist are conveyed in as complete and full a manner as possible. In the cloggs, on the contrary, space and time having to be economised to the utmost, the ideas—even though more numerous, are conveyed in as rudimentary and yet suggestive a form as possible. The old wood-cuts are intermediate between the two; the details being not so full as in the former, while they are fuller than in the latter. And in the following series, much of the interest will be found to reside in (though our space

will not permit us to dwell upon) the manner in which the artist, in each instance, curtails or developes the manifestation of the idea according to the varying nature of his material and resources. And first, of those representations in which, from the nature of the material and other causes, the modes of representation are necessarily restricted.

As early as the year 1790, a series of months sculptured upon a Norman font at Burnham Deepdale, in Norfolk, was brought under the notice of this Society by the Rev. Samuel Pegge (*Archæologia*, x. 177, and pl. xix.). It was again referred to by Dr. Sayers, in 1808 (*Disquisitions*, p. 257); and, more recently, is described by Mr. Blyth, in his *Historical Notices and Records of Fincham*. In the following description I have been assisted by a rubbing made by the Rev. E. R. Kerslake, of Deepdale. The words within inverted commas are Dr. Pegge's.

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - -	"A figure seated, with a drinking horn in his hand." (See note 15.)
FEBRUARY - -	A man seated, thickly clothed, warming himself. (27.)
MARCH - -	"A husbandman digging," with a spade. (See note 3.)
APRIL - - -	A man pruning a tree, holding a hooked knife in his right hand and a branch of a tree in his left. Another tree behind. (28.)
MAY - - -	"A female figure with long hair, having a banner in her hand. Behind her a tree in full foliage." (See note 19.)
JUNE - - -	"A man weeding." (29.)
JULY - - -	"A husbandman mowing." (See note 21.)
AUGUST - -	"A husbandman binding up a sheaf of corn." (See notes 6 and 22.)
SEPTEMBER -	"A husbandman threshing," with a flail; corn lying at his feet. (30.)
OCTOBER - -	"A vintner putting wine into a cask." (31.)
NOVEMBER - -	"The sticking of a pig." The animal is seated on its haunches, raised on its fore-feet, whilst a man holds it from escaping with one hand, and with the other runs a pointed knife into its throat. (32.)
DECEMBER - -	A table spread for feasting, and four persons seated at it. (33.)

A very similar series occurs upon a leaden Norman font at Brookland, Kent. (*Archæological Journal*, vi. 159; *Archæologia Cantiana*, iv. 87, in both of which the font is engraved.) The signs of the Zodiac are represented in compartments of an upper arcade, and the corresponding labours of the months in the compartments of an arcade below. The names of the signs are written above each in Latin, and of the months above the corresponding symbols in Anglo-Norman. The subjects are "all very much clogged with paint," and the details therefore considerably obscured.

MONTH.	SIGN.	SYMBOL.
CHRIST - - - -	A[Q]VARIVS - -	A two-faced figure, seated behind a table, feasting. (See note 15.)
FEBRVARI - - -	PICES - - - -	A figure seated, thickly-clothed, wearing a hood, (?) warming himself at a fire. (See note 27.)
MARCHI - - - -	CAPRICORN *(sic)* -	A thickly-clad rustic in a peaked cap, pruning a shrub, apparently a vine. (See note 17.)
AVRIL - - - - -	TAVRVS - - - -	A bare-headed figure in a long robe, holding in each hand a sprouting plant. (See note 18.)
MAY - - - - - -	GEMINI - - - -	A gentleman on horseback in a long cloak, with his head covered, and a hawk on his left fist. (See note 58.)
IVNI - - - - -	CANCER - - - -	A rustic, bare-headed, in a short tunic, mowing with a long-bladed scythe. (See note 42.)
IVLIVS - - - -	LEO - - - - -	A man with a broad-brimmed hat and long coat, "working with what seems to be meant for a rake." The attitude is that of "weeding," but the implement, as represented, looks more like a rake. (See notes 83, 87, and 29.)
AVGVST - - - -	VIRGO - - - -	A man, in the same costume as the preceding, reaping. With his left hand he gathers up the ears of standing corn, which he cuts down with the sickle in his right. (See note 6.)
SEPT[EM]BRE - -	LIBRA - - - -	A man bare-headed, with naked feet, in a short tunic, threshing with a flail. (See note 30.)

MONTH.	SIGN.	SYMBOL.
[Oc]TOBRE - - -	SCORPIO - - -	A man bare-headed, standing in a hooped vat, or wine press, and in his right hand holding a bunch of grapes. (See note 31.)
NOVEMBRE - - -	SAGVTARIVS - - -	A swineherd in a pointed hood, boots, and cloak, beating with a hooked stick (no tree is shown); and, beneath, a hog feeding. (See note 25.)
DIESEMBRE - - -	CAPRI . . . . . -	A man in a long coat and hood, about to kill a pig with an uplifted axe. The latter will fall with the back, not the edge, on the neck of the pig. (See note 26.)

It was, however, upon the early Norman doorways that the representations of the months were of the most frequent occurrence. Viollet-le-Duc, speaking of France, says, "Dès le xie siècle, les portails de nos églises possèdent des Zodiaques sculptés sur les archivoltes des portes. Nos grandes cathédrales des xiie et xiiie siècles sont toutes pourvues de ces signes, sculptés toujours d'une manière très apparente." (*Dict. Raisonné de l'Architecture Franc. Art. Zodiaque.*) Though this is far from having been the case in England, so far as we may judge from existing examples, yet several more or less perfectly preserved Zodiacs on Norman doorways remain. The best with which I am myself personally acquainted is the one upon the porch of S. Margaret's church, York. An engraving of it was published by Drake in 1736. (34) "This church," he says, "has one of the most extraordinary porches, or entrances, I ever observed; it is such an elaborate piece of *Gothick* sculpture and architecture that I have thought fit to subjoin a draught of it." The engraving is, however, a very poor one, and the order in which the subjects occur in the original is reversed. It was also once engraved by Cave, of York, and better still by Carter. But the best engraving and description of the porch of all were published in 1827 by Mr. Browne, of York. I differ from him, however, in the interpretation of some of the subjects. The porch consists of five successively receding arches; and the flat face of what in later architecture would be called the hood-mould, is divided into twenty-six compartments, containing (and this is most singular) the signs and symbols of the thirteen months of the Anglo-Saxon embolismic year. The Saxon months were, as is clear from Bede, lunar. The year began on Christmas

Eve, or, more strictly speaking, on the day of the full moon preceding. In common years, three months were appropriated, as by us, to each of the four seasons; but every third, sixth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, seventeenth, nineteenth, &c. year, necessarily, according to this system, contained thirteen months instead of twelve; and the intercalary month was added to the summer season. The embolismic years, accordingly, besides the summer month—*Weod-monath*, had three months (instead of two) of the name of *Lida*, and were hence called *Thri-lidi*. (35) This is the tradition which is preserved in so interesting a manner on the S. Margaret's porch, the date of which must be, I think, fully as late as the reign of Stephen. The compartments do not follow one another at present in their natural order. "Mais," as M. Viollet-le-Duc again observes, "*souvent* ces signes, dans nos monuments, ne sont pas à leur place. Étant sculptés sur des morceaux de pierre, avant la pose, claveaux ou assises, les ouvriers ne suivaient pas toujours l'ordre dans lequel ils devaient être placés, et cet ordre était interverti." In this instance, at least, the displacement arose, as I think is evident, from the ignorance and carelessness of those who moved the porch from its original position (36) to the place where it now stands; one of the stones being laid at once both inside out and upside down, and others out of the places they were cut for; so that the principal arch is now giving way, and must fall before long, unless something is done to secure it. I possess an excellent photograph of the porch, and a grass-rubbing, taken whilst, happily, it yet remains "un-restored." In the following arrangement I have given the series as I conjecture it to have stood originally, with references to the compartments as they follow one another at present.

Compartment.	SIGN.	MONTH.	Compartment.	SYMBOL.
1	A man, bearing something in his arms—defaced, for *Aquarius*	January -	2	A figure with two heads, seated; traces of inscription round the margin, defaced. (37.)
3	Two fishes, united by a line passing from mouth to mouth, for *Pisces*	February -	4	A man sitting in a chair, warming himself at a fire; inverted. (See note 27.)
9	A ram, in good preservation and very distinct, for *Aries*	March - -	10	A man pruning a tree; much defaced; more distinct in Drake's engraving. (38.)

Compartment.	SIGN.	MONTH.	Compartment.	SYMBOL.
11	Now completely gone, but in Drake's engraving, a bull, for *Taurus*	April - -	5	A man holding up something in each hand. (39.)
6	A young man and maid standing face to face, for *Gemini*	May - -	7	A man with an ox, now very obscure, but probably intended originally to represent some agricultural employment.
14	An eight-legged creature with a long body, pointed nose and rounded tail, for *Cancer*	June - -	8	Two leaves apparently of the vine, side by side, united by their stalks. (40.)
	SYMBOL. (41.)			SIGN. (41.)
12	A man mowing with a scythe (42.)	Intercalary month.	13	A fret emblematic ornament, for *the intercalary month.*
15	A man weeding, with a *Falcastrum* (See note 29.)	July - -	16	A lion passant, lashing his loins with his tail, for *Leo.*
17	A reaper (Browne). The man is now entirely gone, but there is still some indication of standing corn, and a sickle (See note 6.)	August - -	18	A fine tall female figure with long flowing hair, holding something in her hand, probably corn, for *Virgo.* (See note 22.)
19	A man gathering fruits, apparently grapes, judging from the slender twisted stalks on which they grow (43.)	September -	20	A man holding a pair of scales in his hand, for *Libra.*
21	A man with a crook (Browne) or stick knocking down acorns from a tree; three pigs feeding below (44.)	October- -	22	A four-footed reptile with a pointed head and nowed tail, for *Scorpio.*
23	A man killing a pig with an axe—by decapitation (45.)	November -	24	A figure with the body, legs, and tail of a horse, with, rising out of the chest, the body of a man holding a bow in his left hand and shooting an arrow with the right, for *Sagittarius.*

Compartment.	SYMBOL.	MONTH.	Compartment.	SIGN.
25	A man seated at a table spread for a feast (See note 33.)	December -	26	A figure with the head and fore quarters of a goat, and the wings and nowed tail of a dragon, for *Capricornus.*

It was stated in 1814, by Britton (*Beauties of England and Wales*, p. 612), that "one of the capitals on the south side of the west doorway (of the Abbey Church at Malmesbury) is charged with a figure of Sagittarius, and it is likely that the Zodiacal signs were represented in some of the oval compartments which extended round the arch." I am not aware what amount of foundation there may have been at that time for the inference, but it has been too often concluded, in other instances, from the presence of a Sagittary, that sculptures have been Zodiacal, when—at Adel, for instance—they are merely grotesque, or, possibly, the badge of King Stephen, who may have adopted it for the same reason as Augustus adopted the sign Capricornus, and placed it upon his coins. At present there are traces of three oval compartments above the capital, but so defaced that it is impossible to say what they are intended to represent. An apparently careful observer, however, in the year 1634 (Lansdowne MSS. No. 213) writes that "At the West Doore, wch was her entrance, are curiously cut in freestone the seuerall postures of the Moneths," which certainly goes far to support Mr. Britton's conjecture.

The two doorways communicating between the cloisters and the nave of Ely Cathedral are both richly sculptured, and have each a figure of our Lord in a *vesica piscis*, with the left hand resting on a book, and two fingers of the right raised in benediction. In one of the doorways the *vesica* is supported by angels, and the jambs below ornamented by medallions which appear, on a photograph which I have, to inclose either Zodiacal figures or labours of the months; but it is difficult to make out small sculptures accurately on photographs, even when we know what is represented, and engravings can rarely be trusted for correct details.

At Brinsop, Herefordshire, now built into the north wall, within the church, opposite the south door, there is a representation of St. George and the Dragon, surrounded above by figures, amongst which *Taurus* and *Pisces* are clear, and I

think *Leo;* but the arch has been re-built, and the original position of the stones disturbed. *Sagittarius* occurs on the arch of the north doorway.

A man killing a pig with an axe, and a *Capricornus*, occur at Alne, near York. Though not there Zodiacal in significance (46), they are nevertheless of interest, as showing how those subjects were treated in Zodiacal representations of that (Norman) period.

Similarly a *Sagittarius* and *Pisces*, each in a medallion, appear on an early tomb in Conisborough church, Yorkshire.

The west doorway of Iffley church, Oxfordshire, has sculptured upon its hood-mould a series of fourteen compartments, twelve of which appear to represent the signs of the Zodiac, beginning with *Aquarius*. It is engraved both by Skelton and Britton, and it is stated by the latter that there are similar doorways at Stewkley and Kenilworth.

Much later, the twelve signs of the Zodiac are sculptured upon the bosses of the groined vaulting between the front quadrangle and the Fellows' quadrangle, of Merton College, Oxford. The arms of Henry VII. are in the centre. *Gemini* are two children in fifteenth-century costume, and Virgo is also a girl of that period. *Libra* is a judge in his robes, and *Pisces* the dolphin of Fitzjames, Warden 1482—1507, and afterwards Bishop of London. The rest of the signs are represented in the usual manner.

On the continent, as we should infer from the remark of M. Viollet-le-Duc, already quoted, perfect Zodiacs and series of the months are far more common than with us. Thus, on the archivolt of the great west doorway of the Cathedral of St. Mark, at Venice, begining on the left-hand side of the spectator as he enters, we have the series of signs and symbols given below; "separated, however, into two groups, at its centre, by a beautiful figure of the youthful Christ sitting in the midst of a slightly hollowed sphere, covered with stars, to represent the firmament, and with the attendant sun and moon set one on each side to rule over the day and over the night." (47).

MONTHS.	SIGN.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - -	"Wavy lines, representing water," and perhaps a figure, originally, now "broken away," for *Aquarius.*	A man carrying wood,—"a noble tree on his shoulders, the leafage of which nods forward, and falls nearly to his feet." (48.)

MONTHS.	SIGN.	SYMBOL.
FEBRUARY - -	A pair of fishes, "prominently carved above" the accompanying symbol, for *Pisces*	An old man in a fur tunic and hood, "sitting in a carved chair, warming his bare feet at a blazing fire." (See note 27.)
MARCH - - -	A ram, "superbly carved above" the accompanying symbol, for *Aries*	An armed warrior, bare-headed, his hair in disorder, carrying in his right hand a spear, and in his left a shield, on which is depicted the lion of St. Mark. (49.) At his feet an infant, which looks at him as he blows a trumpet. (See note 72.)
APRIL - - -	*Taurus*	A man carrying a sheep on his shoulders and holding a branch in his right hand. (50.)
MAY - - -	"Two heads," for *Gemini*	A figure "seated, while two young maidens crown him with flowers." (51.) Around, the letters MAO.
JUNE - - -	Above the accompanying symbol, "worked with great spirit," *Cancer*	A man cutting corn with a sickle. "The corn and sickle sculptured with singular care and precision in bold relief." (See note 6.)
JULY - - -	*Leo*	A man mowing grass, "of great interest, owing to the care with which the flowers are wrought out among the long grass." (See notes 21 and 76.)
AUGUST - -	"The Virgin," above the accompanying symbol, "lifting up her hand," for *Virgo*	A man sitting in a chair, resting his head upon his right hand as if asleep, and holding in his left a staff. Around, the letters AGOSTO.
SEPTEMBER -	*Libra*	A man carrying a hod ("a basket," Ruskin,) filled with grapes. (See note 43.)
OCTOBER - -	*Scorpio*	A man "wearing a conical hat, digging busily with a long spade." (52.) Around, the letters OTOBRO.
NOVEMBER - -	*Sagittarius*	A man catching small birds with a net. (53). Around, the letters NOV . . . . . Also, Leda and the Swan. (54.)
DECEMBER - -	*Capricornus*	A man cutting a pig's throat. (See note 26.)

In the Baptistery of the cathedral at Parma, placed in what may be called the triforium, without any order, are several detached fragments, which appear at some time or other to have formed a series of signs of the Zodiac and symbols of the months.

SIGN.	SYMBOL.
Aquarius, defaced - -	Three men,— *a*. One, tilling the ground. (See note 1.) *β*. Another lifting a pail from a well. *γ*. Another watering the ground. (55.)
Pisces - - - - -	A man digging. (56.)
Aries - - - - -	A man holding something to his mouth with his left hand (mutilated). (See note 72.)
Taurus - - - - -	A king, holding in his right hand a branch. (See notes 19, 51, and 90.)
Two figures, apparently male and female, with a tree between them, for *Gemini* - - -	A man riding on horseback. (58.)
Cancer - - - - -	A man cutting corn, with a sickle. (See note 6.)
Leo - - - - -	A man guiding two horses. (59.)
A young female figure, gathering figs, for *Virgo*	A man hammering the top of a barrel with a mallet. (60.)
Libra - - - - -	A man gathering grapes. (See note 43.)
Scorpio - - - - -	A man standing with his right arm bared, and his fist clenched. (61.)
Sagittarius - - -	A man with gourds?
Capricornus - - -	A man pruning a tree. (62.)

On the outer edge of the soffit of the arch of the projecting porch over the central door of the *façade* of the cathedral at Parma is a series of symbols, as follows:—

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - - -	A man sitting with his left foot crossed over his right knee. (63.)
FEBRUARY - - -	A man sowing? (See note 1.)
MARCH - - - -	A soldier leading a horse. (See note 58.)
APRIL - - - -	A man pruning a tree? (See note 28.)
MAY - - - -	A man reaping. (See note 6.)
JUNE - - - -	A man making a barrel. (See note 60.)
	ON THE KEYSTONE IS REPRESENTED THE SUN.
JULY - - - -	A man gathering grapes. (64.)
AUGUST - - - -	A king, sitting, and holding in his right hand a cup. (See note 64.)
SEPTEMBER - - -	A man slitting a pig, *i.e.*, dividing it lengthwise into two parts, whilst suspended by its hind feet. (65.)
OCTOBER - - -	A man cutting wood. (See note 11.)
NOVEMBER - - -	A man with two heads, warming himself at the fire. (See notes 37 and 33.)
DECEMBER - - -	A man carrying in his right hand a circular net, fastened to the end of a long pole, and in his left a basket. (See note 53.)

On the jambs of the north door of the cathedral at Modena, commencing at the bottom of the one on the right-hand side, is a series of symbols, with the names of the corresponding months beneath each, in Latin, without the signs of the Zodiac.

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
	ON THE RIGHT JAMB.
JANUARY - - -	? A woman in a hood and cloak (66.), sitting spinning. (67.)
FEBRUARY - - -	A man in a thick cloak sitting and warming his hands over a fire. (See note 27.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
March - - - -	A man breaking boughs off a tree. (See notes 19, 51, and 90.)
April - - - -	A man among vines? (See note 28.)
May - - - -	A man standing at a horse's head. (See note 58.)
June - - - -	A man mowing with a scythe. (See note 42.)
	ON THE LEFT JAMB.
July - - - -	A man reaping corn, with a sickle. (68.)
August - - - -	A man raking.
September - - -	A man standing in a vat, crushing grapes. (69.)
October - - -	A man pouring wine into a cask. (See note 24.)
November - - -	A man sowing. (70.)
December - - -	A man cutting wood. (71.)

On the projecting porch of S. Zenone at Verona, attributed to the twelfth century, there is a series of symbols, as follows :—

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
January - - -	A man sitting, in a tall peaked cap, warming his hands over a fire. (See note 66.)
February - - -	A man pruning a tree. (See note 2.)
March - - - -	A man blowing two horns, his hair streaming behind him. (72.)
April - - - -	A woman holding two flowers. (See note 39.)
May - - -	An armed warrior, in a tall peaked cap, riding on horseback. (See note 58.)
June - -	A man in a tree, gathering fruit.

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JULY	A man, in a tall peaked cap, reaping corn with a sickle. (See note 68.)
AUGUST	A man, in a tall peaked cap, making a barrel. (See note 60.)
SEPTEMBER	A man carrying a basket of grapes to put into a vat. (See note 43.)
OCTOBER	A man knocking acorns off a tree; two swine beneath, feeding. (See note 25.)
NOVEMBER	Cutting a pig's throat. (See note 26.)
DECEMBER	A man carrying a bundle of sticks. (See notes 11 and 33.)

At the sides of the central doorway of the *façade* of the cathedral at Lucca, commencing at the right hand side and proceeding to the left, we have the following series :—

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
	ON THE SOUTH SIDE.
JANUARY	A man sitting near a fire and warming his hands. (See note 66.)
FEBRUARY	A man sowing. (See note 1.)
MARCH	A man pruning a tree. (See note 38.)
APRIL	A man standing, and holding in his right hand a flower. (See note 39.)
MAY	A man riding on horseback, holding something in his right hand. (See note 58.)
JUNE	A man reaping corn with a sickle. (See note 6.)
	ON THE NORTH SIDE.
JULY	A man thrashing with a flail. (73.)
AUGUST	A man gathering grapes. (See note 64.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
September - - -	A man standing in a vat, crushing grapes. (See note 69.)
October - - -	A man pouring wine into a barrel. (See note 24.)
November - - -	A man ploughing with two oxen. (See note 70.)
December - - -	A man cutting up a pig. (See note 26.)

Over the arch of the projecting porch of the central doorway in the *façade* of the cathedral at Cremona, beginning on the left, there is the following series of signs and symbols :—

SIGN.	SYMBOL.
(Wanting) - - -	A man holding something to his mouth, and a woman holding something in her right hand (mutilated). (See note 72.)
(Wanting) - - -	A man holding in his left hand a flower. (See note 39.)
Gemini - - - -	A man riding on a mule, holding something in his right hand. (See note 58.)
(Wanting) - -	A man cutting corn with a sickle. (See note 6.)
Leo - - - - -	A man driving two horses. (See note 59.)
Virgo - - - - -	A man hammering a barrel. (See note 60.)
Libra - - - - -	A man gathering grapes; at his feet a barrel. (See note 43.)
Scorpio - - - - -	A man carrying a pail; a vine with a pig at the roots. (74.)
Sagittarius - - -	A man slitting a pig. (See notes 26 and 32.)
Capricornus - - -	A man cutting wood. (See note 71.)
Aquarius - - -	A man sitting and holding in his right hand a cup. (See note 15.)
Pisces - - - -	A man digging. (See note 56.)

On the tympanum of the doorway of the Monastery of St. Ursin, in France, which belongs to the end of the first half of the twelfth century, there is a

series of labours of the months, with the names of the months corresponding written beneath each. The series begins with February. (M. de Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéol.* p. 166; and Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit. Art. Sculpture.*)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
February	A man seated holding out his hands as in the act of warming them. (See note 27.)
March	A man with a hooked knife, pruning. (See note 17.)
April	Holding a flower, or leaf, in each hand. (See notes 18 and 39.)
May	(Indistinct.)
June	A mower sharpening his scythe; grass at his feet. (See note 42.)
July	Cutting corn with a sickle. (See note 68.)
August	Thrashing with a flail. (See note 73.)
September	Pouring a basket of grapes into a vat; a vine adjacent. (See note 69.)
October	A man pouring wine out of an oviform bottle into a cask. (See note 24.)
November	A man killing a pig with an axe; the cutting edge of the axe is about to fall on the back of the animal's neck. (See notes 45, 26, and 32.)
December	A man seated at a table spread for feasting. (See note 33.)
January	A man seated, watching a pan upon a tripod, with fire beneath. (See note 66.)

On a doorway at Sens, the signs of the Zodiac occur in company with a series of symbols of the months. (*Annales Archéol.* xii. 139, and M. de Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéol.* p. 305.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
January	An old man resting, apparently meditating.
February	An old man warming himself. (See note 27.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
March	A man pruning a vine. (See note 17.)
April	A man sowing. (See notes 1 and 3.)
May	A man and horse. (See note 58.)
June	A mower, for the hay. (See notes 42 and 21.)
July	A reaper. (See note 68.)
August	A man thrashing corn. (See note 73.)
September	The vintage. (See note 69.)
October	Pouring wine into a cask. (See note 24.)
November	A wood-cutter making provision for the winter. (See note 11.)
December	A man killing a pig. (See note 26.)

The Great west doorway of the cathedral at Rheims is a magnificent work of the latter part of the thirteenth century. Above, is a colossal figure of the Blessed Virgin, crowned as a queen, holding the Holy Child; and below, upon the jambs on either side, are represented the labours of the twelve months of the year. In this beautiful series the signs of the Zodiac are absent. (*Annales Archéol.* xiv. 28.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
January	A man seated at a table, at ease, feasting; a vessel of water or wine standing at the lower end. (See note 15.)
February	A man warming himself before a fire, from which flames are issuing; in the chimney a bundle of sausages sculptured with singular felicity. (See note 27.)
March	A vine dresser tilling a vine. (See note 17.)
April	A vine dresser pruning a vine with a hook. (See note 28.)
May	A young man, holding in the left hand a beautiful stalk of flowers, probably to offer to his betrothed. (See note 51.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JUNE - - - -	A young man, seated upon an entire horse, leaving one behind him, and proceeding rapidly on the chase. (See note 58.)
JULY - - - -	Mowing a meadow. (See note 21.)
AUGUST - - - -	Cutting corn with a sickle. (See note 6.)
SEPTEMBER - - -	One apparently thrashing corn. (See note 30.)
OCTOBER - - -	Filling puncheons with new wine. (See note 24.)
NOVEMBER - - -	A man returning home laden with an enormous bundle of wood, collected from the adjacent forest of Rheims. (See note 11.)
DECEMBER - - -	One apparently killing a fat hog. (See note 26.)

On the plinth of the northernmost of the three great portals of the cathedral at Amiens (A.D. 1220—1228) the signs of the Zodiac and symbols of the months are finely sculptured. Two careful engravings of the series from drawings by Messrs. W. H. Lonsdale and E. C. Lee will be found in *The Architect* for 17th December, 1870.

SIGN.	SYMBOL.
The head and fore-quarters of a goat, with the hind-quarters and tail of a fish, for *Capricornus.*	A man killing pigs. One is suspended with its head downwards over a large tub (scalding tub); another is lying upon the ground, just dead; a third is about to be killed. A sharp-pointed knife is lying on the floor. (See note 26.)
A man pouring water out of a flask, for *Aquarius.*	Janus, with two heads, the one old and bearded, the other young and smooth, seated at a table spread for feasting. Two youths attending. (See notes 37, 15, and 33.)
Two fishes, connected by a line, in water, for *Pisces.*	An old man, thickly clothed, having taken off the boots which are lying at his side, is seated before a fire warming himself, his left hand raised to feel the heat, his right roasting a fish fixed upon a two-pronged fork; in the flame above, something cooking in a pot, suspended from the chimney by a hook; behind, a locker, with a jar standing on it. (See note 27.)
A ram walking; two bare trees behind; for *Aries.*	A man, with bare legs, digging with a spade about the roots of two vines, each twisted round a pole. (See note 2.)

SIGN.	SYMBOL.
A bull, lashing his loins with its tail; two trees, in leaf, behind; for *Taurus*.	A gentleman, standing with a hawk upon his fist; two trees, in leaf, behind. (See note 58.)
A young man and a young woman standing side by side, hand in hand, and looking into one another's faces; two trees in leaf behind; for *Gemini*.	A man seated under some trees; above, in one of them, a bird singing. (75.)
A crab, finely executed, for *Cancer*.	A man without shoes and, with the exception of a cap, naked all above his hips, mowing grass, in the midst of which are many little stalked flowers. (76.)
A lion statant behind a tree in rich leafage, for *Leo*.	A man, clothed like the last, cutting corn with a sickle; behind him sheaves of corn bound up. (See note 68.)
A female figure, fully draped, holding up apparently a fruit of some kind in her left hand, and a tree at either side, for *Virgo*. (See note 23.)	A man, in a tunic fitting closely to the neck and falling loosely to the knees, threshing corn with a flail. (See note 73.)
A female figure, fully draped, holding in her right hand a balance, for *Libra*.	A young man clothed like the last, but with shoes on, hooking down the branches of a tree to reach the fruit. (See note 23.)
A kind of six-legged tortoise-looking animal, with a fish's tail, for *Scorpio*.	A young man, bare-headed and bare-legged, treading grapes in a hooped, wooden vat. Two hooped barrels to the right, and vessels with fruit in to the left. (See notes 24 and 69.)
A figure with the hairy loins and tail and cloven feet of a goat, but with the head and chest and arms of a man, holding a bow, stretched, for *Sagittarius*.	A man, clothed like the last but one, sowing seed. (See note 70.)

The most perfect series of signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months,

known to M. Viollet-le-Duc, is upon the principal doorway of the Abbey Church of Vézelay, which belongs to the commencement of the twelve century. In the same situation, and connected with them, Christ and the twelve Apostles are also sculptured. I regret, however, that I have no notes of it in detail.

He also mentions a series, of the greatest interest, upon the jambs of the doorway on the right of the *façade* of the Abbey Church of Saint Denis. Preceding this series is a medallion which symbolizes the closing and opening year; the past and future. A man with two heads on one body stands upon the foliage which surrounds the medallion. One of the heads is old and bearded, the other young and unbearded. The bearded man is almost enveloped in a heavy garment, the unbearded is almost naked. The foot of the bearded one rests heavily on the border of the medallion; the foot of the unbearded is lifted lightly on to a spray of foliage. The bearded one places his hand upon a diminutive old man, whom he pushes into a house, the door of which already seems to move as though to close for ever; the unbearded opens the door of another house, and draws to him a little young one, who approaches nimbly and full of life. The little old one who withdraws is the past; the little young one who comes forward is the future. (*Annales Archéol.* xix. 220, where also is an engraving.) (See note 37.)

There is also a very beautiful Zodiac, of about the year 1220, upon the jambs of the doorway leading into the Lady Chapel, on the south side of the cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris. The signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months are represented in company with personifications of Earth and Ocean below, and the Virgin and Child above. This series begins with December, the month of the Nativity. (Viollet-le-Duc, *Dict. de l'Arch.* ix. 551; *Annales Archéol.* vi. 103; ix. 105-108; and xiv. 27.)

The signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months are also found upon one of the great doorways of Chartres Cathedral (*Ann. Arch.* vi. 48; ix. 43); and on a doorway at Bazas. (*Ibid.* xii. 139.)

The signs of the Zodiac, without labours of the months, are represented upon a doorway (if I understand rightly) at Plaisance Cathedral. Each sign is accompanied by its name in Latin. The Sun and Moon also are represented; three of the principal winds, whereof "Eurus" is surnamed "Rex ventorum;" two stars, each in the form of a head emitting rays, held by angels, and inscribed respectively, "Angelus-Stella," and "Angelus-Stella commeta;" and in the midst the hand of the Almighty, blessing, with the words, "Dextera Dei." (*Ibid.* xiv. 166.)

In the Ducal Palace at Venice the symbols of the twelve months of the year are sculptured upon the eight sides of an early fourteenth-century capital. March on one, April and May on the next, June on the next, July and August next, September next, October and November next, December next, and January and February next. The name of each month is carved over its symbol. (*Annales Archéologiques*, xvii. 199; and Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, ii. 362.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
MARCIVS CORNATOR -	Seated and well clad; hands broken off, but doubtless held originally a horn, the remains of which are visible about the mouth of the figure; hair floating in the wind. (See note 72.)
APRILIS - - - -	A young man richly clad with a chaplet of flowers (see note 39), and holding a little bull (Taurus) in his hands.
MAGIVS - - - -	A young man richly clad crowned with roses; left hand broken, right holding a rose. (See note 51.)
IVNIVS .... CV CERESIS -	A man with cherries in a basket; the cherries carved with great care, all their stalks undercut. (77.)
IVLIVS - - - -	Reaping; the leaves of the straw are beautifully represented, shooting out from the tubular stalk. (See note 68.)
AVGVSTV' - - -	Armed with a mallet and chisel, tightening the hoops of a wooden vat. (See note 60.)
SEPTEBE SVPEDITAT -	A man, crowned with vine leaves, standing in a wine-tub, and holding a branch of vine, from which he gathers grapes. (See note 69.)
OCTOBE - - - -	Beating grain with a flail. (See notes 30 and 12.)
NOVEMBE - - -	Pouring something out of a sack into a round barrel,—? measuring of grain. (See notes 30 and 12.)
DECEM .... CAT SVVM -	A man seated, killing a pig, which he holds between his knees. (See note 26.)
IANVARIVS - - -	An old man, thickly clothed, warming his feet at a fire. (See note 66.)
FEBRVARV' - - -	Frying fish. (78.)

Nearly akin to the representations in stone, are those in wood with which we

are acquainted. In the great museum at Copenhagen there are two ancient Icelandic chairs, of cornel wood, believed to have belonged originally to Holum cathedral, or to Modrevalle monastery. On the front of one of these the twelve signs of the Zodiac are represented, with their names and the names of the months to which they belong, partly in Runes and partly in Latin-Gothic letters. These are engraved by Worsaae, in his *Afbildninger fra det Kongelige Museum for Nordiske Oldsager i Kjobenhavn;* and described by Stephens, in his *Runic Hall of the Old Northern Museum at Copenhagen.*

The misericordes of the choir of Worcester Cathedral appear to have been adorned, in addition to a number of other subjects, with a series at least indicative of, if not actually representing, the months of the year. For an account, with photographs, of these interesting carvings, believed to have been executed in the year 1379, I am indebted to the Rev. C. Boutell. They were removed in 1551 (5 Edw. VI.), re-set up in 1556, removed again at the commencement of the present century to fix upon the cornice of a "compo" screen beneath the organ, taken down in 1865 when the screen was swept away, and are now about to be replaced in their original position, so far at least as that can be determined. At present they are arranged in no order whatever, and it is merely by conjecture that we can select from the series and arrange the following, thus :—

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - - -	A woman with a distaff (See note 67); and a man digging with a spade (See note 1.)
FEBRUARY - - -	An old man seated on a semi-circular three-legged arm-chair before a fire, on which a pot is placed, the contents of which he is stirring; a dog or cat warming itself at the fire; and two flitches of bacon hanging upon the wall. The man has taken off his boots and is warming his feet. (See note 27.)
MARCH - - - -	A husbandman sowing seed. He has a seed-bag at his side, strapped over his shoulder, and on the ground on each side of him is a large basket, or pannier. His right hand seems in the the act of casting seed on the ground. The toes of his boots are pointed oddly. (See note 3.)
APRIL - - - -	A gentleman standing, wearing a cap, with hood drawn over his ears. He is enveloped in a cloak, and wears a sword; he also holds in each hand a branch of roses. (See note 39.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
May - - - - -	A king, or crowned personage, with a horse richly caparisoned, led by a page. There has been a hawk on the fist, but only the claws of the bird are left. (See note 58.)
June - - - - -	Three men with scythes, mowing. (See note 42.)
July - - - - -	Three men, in the midst of standing corn, with remains of the prongs of a crotch near the left foot of two, and of the curved blade of a weed-hook near the right foot of each of the three figures. The staff of the hook has therefore been held in the right, and of the crotch in the left hand of each. (See notes 29 and 87.)
August - - - - -	Three men reaping corn with sickles; three sheaves on each side. The attitudes and expression are extremely animated. (See notes 6 and 22.)
September - - - -	A huntsman sounding his horn, which winds round his body. (See notes 9 and 10.)
October - - - -	A swineherd beating down acorns from a tree with a staff for two pigs underneath; foliage at each side. (See note 25.)
November - - - -	Sow and five pigs fattening for Christmas; conventional foliage at each side. (See note 25.)
December - - - -	A butcher killing an ox. The man wears an apron and sharp-pointed shoes. (79.)

I am also indebted to Mr. Boutell for notes on the misericordes at Malvern. It would seem that there the choir stalls, of somewhat later date than those at Worcester, have been removed; but that, in the north aisle of the choir, four and twenty of them are arranged in a pair of rows, two blocks of six stalls standing in each row. The component parts of each block remain undisturbed, but there are grooves and fittings for misericordes now lost at one of the ends of each of the four blocks, showing that some, we know not how many, of the misericordes, are wanting. This may account for the series below being incomplete. The symbols of the months at Malvern, as at Worcester, are interspersed amongst a number of other carvings, and, like them, are here conjecturally attributed to the months to which they appear to belong.

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
MARCH - - - -	A man, having at his left side, suspended by a strap crossing over his right shoulder, an oblong box for seed, which he is in the act of sowing; to the right, a sack, partly emptied. (See note 3.)
APRIL - - - -	A man holding in each hand a bunch of roses. (See note 39.)
JUNE - - - -	A man with a scythe, mowing. (See note 42.)
JULY - - - -	A man amidst a thicket of rampant thistles, holding in his right hand a crotch to press down the weeds at his feet, while with a cutting hook in his left he destroys them. (See notes 29 and 87.)
SEPTEMBER - - -	A man with a basket of fruit on his right arm, and in his left hand a fruit like a pine apple. (See note 23.)
OCTOBER - - - -	A man beating down acorns, with on one side a boar and on the other a sow. (See note 25.)
DECEMBER - - -	A man standing, with hands and arms gone, in the act of killing an ox, which is represented in a suitable attitude. (See note 79.)

Similarly at Gloucester Cathedral:—

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
SEPTEMBER - - -	Tree with branches and fruit, two boys and a woman beneath; also, on each side, a donkey asleep. (See note 23.) A deer stalker in full chase, shooting a noble stag with a long bow. (See note 9.)
OCTOBER - - -	The vintage. A spreading vine, and two men gathering grapes. (See note 24.) A hunter on horseback riding at speed, blowing a horn; a hound following. (See note 10.)
NOVEMBER - - -	An oak tree, with large leaves and acorns, amidst which are a bird and squirrel; beneath, a boar and sow feeding. (See note 25.)

And along the lower frieze of the wooden watching-loft on the north side of the feretory at St. Alban's Abbey. For two separate independent series of notes

on these interesting carvings I am indebted to Mr. Boutell and to Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A.

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
January - - -	A man and woman seated on a bench, feasting. (See note 15.)
February - - -	A man and woman seated, warming themselves before a fire; a third figure blowing with a pair of bellows. (See note 27.)
March - - - - -	A shepherd seated, blowing a double pipe; four sheep attending. (See note 5.)
April - - - - -	A sheep and lamb, the latter sucking. (See note 5.)
May - - - - -	A woman milking a cow into a bowl. (See note 51.)
June - - - - -	A man mowing grass with a scythe. (See note 42.)
July - - - - -	A man weeding; behind, a tree; his coat lying on the ground beneath. (See notes 29 and 87.)
August - - -	A man reaping with a sickle; behind, another carrying and piling up sheaves. (See notes 6 and 22.)
September - - -	A huntsman with a bow, horn, and dogs. (See note 9.) A squirrel in the midst of oak leaves and acorns. (See note 25.) A dog holding a boar by the ear. (See note 9.)
October - - -	A vine with grapes, near to which is a basket of grapes, and the feet and hands of a man (mutilated). (See note 24.)
November - - -	A sow with a litter of pigs sucking. (See note 25.)

For an instance of the twelve signs of the Zodiac in metal-work, we may point to the seven-branched candlestick of the Cathedral at Milan, one of the most beautiful iconographic works of which the thirteenth century can boast, on which they occur in company with a tree of the Virgin, the Virtues triumphing over Vices, and so forth. (For engravings and description by Didron, see *Annales Archéol.* vol. xiii.)

The earliest instance we have in England of the signs of the Zodiac or symbols of the months being represented on pavers, is, I believe, at Canterbury Cathedral. "The pavement in Trinity Chapel," Mr. Richard Gough remarks (*Archæologia*, x. 151) "has many circular stones upon it, with figures very rudely designed and

executed, of the signs of the Zodiac and other fancies of the workman." Mr. John Gough Nichols states (*Decorative Tiles*, p. xviii.) that "the surfaces are sculptured with devices in low relief, and the cavities inlaid with a dark cement, apparently a mixture of pitch and pounded brick. * * * * * One set represented the months by the operations of husbandry, after the fashion of the old almanacs: ploughing, mowing, and reaping, are still to be distinguished," and a small engraving of the first is given. "Another set is figured with the signs of the Zodiac, several of which are preserved, including the Ram," of which another small engraving is given. Mr. Nichols adds that in the church of Notre Dame at S. Omer there are some tablets sculptured with Zodiacal signs similar to those at Canterbury; and these were described by Dr. Bromet in *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 359. A full description of them has since been published by Mons. E. Wallet (*Description du pavé de l'ancienne Cathed. de Saint Omer*, 1847). Unfortunately, however, neither of the series is so perfect at present as the descriptions would lead us to infer; for, as Mr. Burges states (Shaw's *Specimens of Tile Pavements*, 1858), that at S. Omer's contains only seven of the labours of the months and five of the signs of the Zodiac, and Mr. Shaw's plate of the Canterbury tiles contains but one labour, ploughing, and four signs—Aries, Taurus (?), Cancer, and Libra. There is also, in Mr. Shaw's work, a plate of tiles from Chertsey, belonging to the thirteenth century, in which three of the signs of the Zodiac, Cancer, Scorpio, and Capricornus, are represented within circles; and a series of "dallages gravés," of about the same date, is stated by M. Viollet-le-Duc (*op. cit. Art. Dallage*) to be contained in the floor of one of the chapels in the abbey church of St. Denis in France. The following months are represented in the woodcut:—

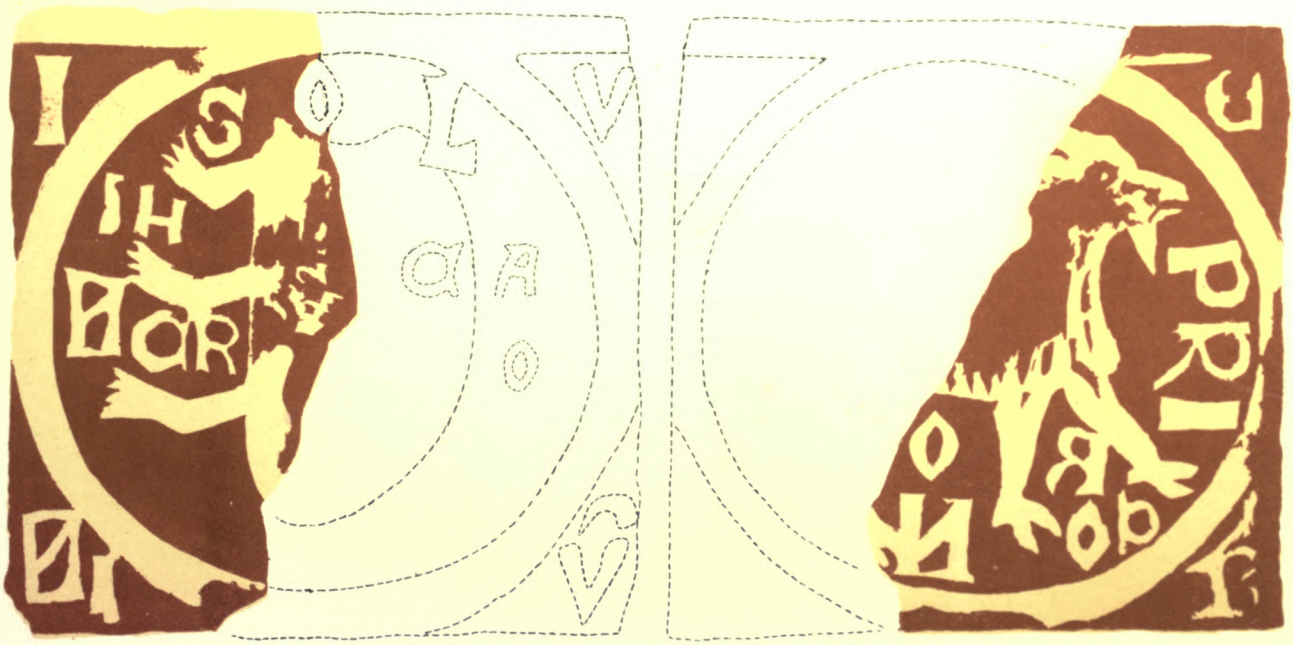
MONTH.	SYMBOL.
February - - -	An old man, thickly clothed, warming himself at a fire. (See note 27.)
March - - - -	A man pruning, with a curved knife. (See note 17.)
April - - - -	A young man and woman; two trees in the background. (80.)
May - - - -	A man on horseback, with a hawk on his fist. (See note 58.)

The signs of the Zodiac and symbols of the months at S. Omer's are each within an inscribed circle, now to a great extent obliterated. The signs which

remain are *Cancer, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius.* The symbols are as follows:—

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - - -	Janus seated, drinking from two cups. (See note 15.)
FEBRUARY - - -	A man tilling the ground. (See note 56.)
MARCH - - - -	A man pruning a vine. (See note 38.)
JUNE - - - -	A man holding a rake. (See notes 42 and 21.)
OCTOBER - - -	A man gathering fruits. (See notes 23 and 24.)
NOVEMBER - - -	A man sowing. (See note 70.)
DECEMBER - - -	(Fragment of) a man killing a pig with an axe. (See notes 26 and 45.)

A tile and fragments (figured in Plate IV.), for the loan of which I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. John Colles and Mr. Vincent Wing, were found, during the recent restoration of Melton Mowbray church, amongst the rubbish near one of the piers at the east end of the south aisle of the nave. This portion of the fabric is believed to belong to the early part of the fourteenth century, and there can be little doubt that these fragments of the ancient flooring are coeval. The complete tile is four and three-quarter inches square, and is one of the ordinary inlaid kind, as described by Mr. Nichols, a "quarry of red clay," with "the design impressed by means of a stamp cut in relief," "and the cavities thus formed on the surface filled with whitish-coloured clay," and "then faced with a metallic glaze, which gives the white a slightly yellow (in this case a deep yellow) tinge, and a more full and pleasing tinge to the red." The pattern is, within a circle, a ram, and the inscription—SOL IN ARIETE; and outside the circle, in the corners of the tile, the letters M, A, RC, IV; for, doubtless, the first of a series of tiles representing the months of the year by the signs of the Zodiac. The half tile, in size and general character precisely resembling the above, has had within the circle, when perfect, a rude representation of a crab, with the inscription—SOL IN CANCRO; and outside, in the corners, the letters I, V, NI, V or VS, being another of the same series. A third fragment has contained within



PAVING TILES FROM MELTON MOWBRAY CHURCH.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1873.

the circle, a Capricorn, with the inscription—SOL IN CAPRICORNO, and outside, in the corners—DECEMBER, of which, however, the letters E and R only remain. The figure in this tile is outlined in black, a peculiarity not existing in the other specimens. And, what is evidently a fourth, with the inscription—SOL IN PISCE, for FEBRUARIUS, will be found engraved in Fowler's plate of "Norman Pavers on the Floor of St. Peter and St. Paul's church, at Harrington, Northamptonshire" (*Mosaic Pavements and Ancient Stained Glass*, vol. i.). This curious tile has since been lost from the church, and is now nowhere to be found.

It is rather singular that several duplicates of the first tile of this series are known to exist, but that so far no others have been described except the three mentioned in this paper. Thus, at Ulverscroft Priory, in Leicestershire, there is one which was exhibited before the Archæological Institute in 1846, and engraved in the *Arch. Journ.* ii. 89; but on too small a scale to give a very good idea of the original. The tile is now, unfortunately, placed in a position in which the pattern is rapidly becoming obliterated. Another from the same stamp is in the British Museum. There is also one in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, and Mr. Well-beloved, in the catalogue, speaks of another still "more perfect specimen . . . found in the ruins of a priory in Charnwood forest." I am informed by Mr. W. C. Boulter, F.S.A., that there is yet another in a recess on the south side of the chancel at Holy Trinity church, Hull, and Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, in a recent number of *The Reliquary* (xi. 131, Pl. xvi. fig. 1), has engraved one from Wirksworth, in Derbyshire. A point of the greatest interest, proved by Mr. Jewitt, is that not only the tile at Wirksworth, but various others also of different patterns at "Bakewell, Duffield, Morley, Darley Abbey, Kegworth, Burton Abbey, Thurgarton Priory, Ulverscroft Priory, and other places," were manufactured at Repton, in Derbyshire, where a kiln was discovered in 1866 with tiles still in it, identified as the same. (Ibid. viii. 131-140). And as the Zodiacal tiles at Melton, Harrington, London, York, and Hull are all obviously from the same mould as that from Wirksworth engraved by Mr. Jewitt, it is obvious that they also must have come from the same manufactory. Indeed, at Hull, beside the Zodiacal tile, there are others identical with those known to have been made at Repton (Ibid. vol. xi. Pl. xvi. Nos. 1, 2, and 4, and Pl. xviii. No. 4); and in the Hull Museum there is a tile of one of the Repton patterns (Ibid. Pl. xvi. 4), from Meaux Abbey, in Holderness, showing that the Repton manufactory was well known as far north as Yorkshire.

On the lowest step of the Sacrarium in Bredon church, Worcestershire, there

are the remains of a series of tiles, probably of about the same date, possibly out of the same kiln, and of even greater interest; the months there having been, apparently, represented by characteristic symbols rather than by the signs of the Zodiac. For notes and tracings of these I am indebted to the Rev. L. Clutterbuck, of Bredon. There is room for, and there has doubtless been upon the step, originally, a series of twelve square panels, answering to the twelve months of the year, arranged as in the tracing exhibited; but very few, if any, of the tiles are now in their original position; many are lost, and all are much worn and injured. Those at the angles of each panel appear to have been struck from one mould for each month, and to have borne the name of the month, with some rude representation of a plant or animal—in the August panel it is a hare (81),—and the central tile some kind of picture symbolical of the month; but these have entirely perished, with the exception of a slight indication on one only.

The letters on all these tiles appear to be closely similar, a modification of the so-called Lombardic character in use during the fourteenth century. Several of the letters remind us of Runic forms, or rather of such Runesque Roman letters as, for instance, we have upon the leaden cross described by Camden as King Arthur's grave or coffin-plate, or in conjunction with Runes upon the famous cross at Ruthwell, or in Domesday and other early manuscripts, or in the inscriptions on the doorway at Alne; as though the traditional form of the more ancient character had thus in part descended to that comparatively late period; or, possibly, had been suggested by a similarity of circumstances to those which originally gave rise to the angularity of the Runic characters, *i.e.*, the facility of cutting or impressing them distinctly.

In the crypt of the church of S. Savino, at Piacenza, the symbols of the months within circular medallions, several of which contain also the corresponding sign of the Zodiac, and name of the month in capital letters, are found in a black and white marble pavement, said to have been constructed in the year 903. (*Descriz. del Mon. e delle pitt. di Piacenza*, p. 64.) Round the rim of each medallion is an inscription, also in capital letters, without any division of the words or stops. Several of the series are more or less mutilated, and two are totally destroyed. For recent notes of this most interesting series I am again indebted to Mr. Twigg.

MONTH.	SIGN.	SYMBOL.
(1). (Defaced) -	(Defaced) - -	(Defaced.)
(2). (Defaced) -	(Defaced) - -	(Defaced.)
(3). MARCIVS - -	*Pisces* - - -	Man blowing a horn. (See note 72.)
(4). (Defaced) - -	*Aries* - - -	A man standing between two fig trees. (82.)
(5). MAIVS - -	*Taurus* - - -	A man standing beside a mule. (See note 58.)
(6). IVNIVS - -	*Gemini* - - -	A man raking. (83.)
(7). IVLIVS - -	*Cancer* - -	A man cutting corn. (See note 68.)
(8). AVGVSTI .. -	*Leo* - - -	A man hammering a nail into a barrel. (See note 60.)
(9). SEPTEMBER -	*Virgo* - - -	A man standing with his feet in a hole (near the mouth of a well) holding a spade. (84.)
(10). . . VBER -	*Libra* - - -	(Defaced.)
(11). (Defaced) -	(Defaced) -	(Defaced.)
(12). (Defaced) -	*Sagittarius* - -	A man slitting a pig. (See note 26.)

Inscriptions round the rims of the Medallions.

(1). Defaced.
(2). Defaced.
(3). +PROCEDVNT DVPLICES IN MARCIA TEMPORA PISCES.
(4). RESPICIO[a] APRILIS ARIES FRIXE[b] KALENDAS.
(5). MAIVS AGENOREI MOR . ATVR CORNVA TAVRI.
(6). +IVNIVS AE[THERE]OS CAELO VID[ET]IRE LACONAS
(7). SOLSTITIO ARDENTI . . . . . [F]ERT IVLIVS AVSTRVM.
(8). AVGVSTVM MENSEM LEO FERVIDVS IGNE PERVRIT.
(9). SID[US VIRGINE]VM SEPTEM[B]ER OPIMA TI . . .
(10). . . AEONA . . . TL . . . VC . . . . . VBE . . . . . C . . . . TE.
(11). (?) TIRE . . . NO[VEM]BER . . . NI
(12). TERMIN . . . . IS . . NA DECEMD . . . .

[a] ? respicis. [b] ? Frixee for Phryxee.

It will be observed that, in this series, the signs of the Zodiac attributed to the different months are different from those attributed elsewhere; Pisces being attributed to March instead of Aries, Taurus to May instead of Gemini, and so on. For an explanation of this, I am indebted to Mr. J. I. Plummer, of the Durham Observatory. In the time of Hipparchus, B.C. 125, the sun, though in Pisces on the first of March, entered Aries about the 21st. The latter sign, in consequence, was attributed to the month, and each succeeding sign, in its order, to the month in the course of which the sun entered it. And, conventionally, the sun is still said to enter Aries at the Spring equinox in March. But in this instance, as so often elsewhere, the conventional is not absolutely true. In consequence of the precession of the equinoxes, amounting to 30° or one whole sign in something less than 2,200 years, the sun had got in the tenth century to be in Aquarius on the first of March, and to enter Pisces very early in the month—about the second or third, so as to be thus in Pisces during nearly the whole of the month, and in Aries no longer. At present, the assignment of Aries to March is, strictly speaking, still more inaccurate, the sun being in Aquarius from the beginning of the month to the 18th or 19th, and thence in Pisces. That at so early a period the Italians should have been conversant with these facts, and that the arts connected with architecture should have been made to convey so full an expression of them, are points of great interest.

Representations of the signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months are probably not uncommon in Mosaic floors, the tradition having descended from classic times. Two other black and white Zodiacs, resembling the one described above, occur, the one in the Baptistery at Florence, the other in the church of San-Miniato, near that city. The latter is dated A.D. 1207. (*Annales Archéol.* xv. 231.) The signs of the Zodiac also occur in Mosaics at Tournus and at Rheims, of the eleventh century; and on the floor in front of the altar in the cathedral at Lyons, of the twelfth. (Id. xvii. 120, 121, and Godf. Higgins, *Anacalypsis*, ii. 57.)

In the crypt of the church of S. Gereon, at Cologne, attributed to the eleventh century (*Ann. Arch.* xvii. 120), there is a mosaic floor of great interest. Westward are twelve larger subjects from scripture; five from the history of Samson (admirably chosen to symbolize the triumphs of S. Gereon and his companions); five from the history of David; one representing Rahab and the two spies; and one representing Joseph and Potiphar's wife. But immediately around the altar are, smaller, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, thus:—

Pisces.	Aquarius.	Capri-cornus.	ALTAR.				Gemini.	Taurus.	Aries.
		Sagit-tarius.	Scorpio.	Libra.	Virgo.	Leo.	Cancer.		

Each sign is depicted in colours upon a white or black ground, sprinkled with black or white stars, in order to indicate the firmament.

In the choir of the Cathedral of Aosta there is a magnificent mosaic pavement, attributed by the French antiquaries to the latter half of the twelfth century. In this, twelve medallions of equal size, representing the labours of the months, surround a much larger medallion, which represents the year (ANNVS), symbolized by a beardless un-nimbed figure, richly clad in various colours and seated upon a throne, holding in his right hand the sun (SOL), and in his left the moon (LVNA). The thirteen subjects thus described are included, first, by a narrow ornamental circle, and then, still more externally, by a wider square border or framework; and in the spandrils formed between the circle and angles of the square are four small figures bearing urns, &c., from which water is issuing, representing the four rivers of the terrestrial paradise. The names of two, FIZION and GION, are still legible. (*Ann. Archéol.* xvii. 265.) The months are symbolized as follows:—

MONTHS.	SYMBOLS.
IANVS - - - -	A man with two heads, closing one tower (symbol of the old year) and opening another (symbol of the new). (See note 37.)
FEBRVARIVS - - -	A man seated, his head wrapped in a conical hood, warming his hands before a fire. (See note 27.)
MARCIVS - - - -	A man pruning a tree. (See note 38.)
APRILIS - - - -	A man holding a sprout or flower in each hand; near his right hand a nest of young birds. (See notes 18 and 39.)
MAIVS - - - -	A man upon a horse at speed. (See note 58.)
IVNIVS - - - -	A man mowing grass. (See note 42.)
IVLIVS - - - -	A man cutting corn. (See note 68.)
AVGVSTVS - - -	A man beating corn with a flail. (See note 30.)

MONTHS.	SYMBOLS.
SEPTEMBER - - -	A man standing in a vat treading grapes. (See note 69.)
OCTOBER - - - -	A man sowing corn. (See note 61.)
NOVEMBER - - -	A man bending under the weight of a heavy bundle of wood upon his back. (See note 11.)
DECEMBER - - -	A man killing a pig with an axe; the edge of the latter directed backward. (See note 26.)

Passing on now from incised or sculptured representations, through mosaics, we arrive again at pictorial embodiments of these ideas. Durandus says (*Rat. Div. Off.* lib. i. *De Picturis*) that the mediæval pictures were either on vestments, or the walls of churches, or glass windows; and alludes, amongst other of the most favourite subjects, to representations of the signs of the Zodiac and symbols of the twelve months of the year. I am not aware of any examples remaining in ancient needlework. There are none in the rich collection at the South Kensington Museum. Needlework, perhaps on account of its extreme beauty, was singled out as a special object for destruction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What was left by the lice of Henry VIII. was plagued by the murrain of Edward VI.; and what escaped the hail of Elizabeth was devoured by the locusts of the Commonwealth. "Vestments Copes albes Tunacles and all other such baggages," "peltrie of the Pope's sinfull service," were "made quishwines of," "brent," or "cut in peces and put to profaine uses;" to wit, "defaced and a carpitt made of the same," or "made a stomacher of," or "made necessarie thinges for children" of, or "Quishions for a house and hangings for a bed" (Peacock, *Church Furniture*, *passim*). The same influences were at work for the destruction of wall-paintings, but an influence far worse than anything before experienced is our modern "Restoration;" for whereas our forefathers were content with white-washing and thus "defacing" pictures, we, on the contrary, as a rule, in the hurry to get work done as quickly as possibly can be, utterly and irremediably destroy ancient paintings even before they are well discovered. On the ceiling of the Choir of Salisbury Cathedral, there were not long ago discernible traces of a series of the months. "The paintings on the vaultings are esteemed for their antiquity, having been ever since the dedication

of the church," writes Francis Price in 1774. "Over the communion or altar, are the twelve months of the year." It is to be feared that these precious remnants of the Art of our forefathers, which escaped for so many centuries the Scylla of destruction, have at length perished in the Charybdis of "Restoration." It is now no longer possible to say whether the representations were Zodiacal or allegorical, or both. The tradition, however, is that they were allegorical, probably similar to some discovered a few years ago at Easby, near Richmond, on stripping off the plaster from the chancel of the parish church. In that building are three small windows on each side, but the only paintings of the months preserved are on the jambs of the two easternmost windows on the north. The latter have since been "restored," but from a sketch made of them in their original condition by Mr. Burlison, of Newman Street, I am enabled to give the following description.

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
March - - -	A man with a basket suspended from his neck, sowing; a crow picking behind. (85.)
April - - -	A man apparently pruning a tree. (See note 28.)
May - - -	A man digging. (See note 83.)
June - - -	The forequarters of a horse; probably, when perfect, a man on horseback. (See note 58.)

The occupations are here rather late. In the Calendar from the Cottonian Collection, cited above, the occupations for March, April, and May are appropriated to January, February, and March respectively. The man on horseback is generally appropriated to May.

Probably the finest ancient paintings of the months in existence are in the great hall at Padua, painted by Giotto, as is supposed, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. On the roof gold stars shine out from an azure ground, and on the walls are no fewer than three hundred and sixty-five subjects, chiefly allegorical, but including the constellations and planets, the influences of the planets on human life according to their position in the heavens, the theological and cardinal virtues, the twelve Apostles, and the labours of the months; to which are added the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Brandolese states that the hall is

built parallel to the equator, and that, before any alterations were made about it, at the time of the equinoxes the rays of the rising sun entered by the eastern windows and emerged by those of the west, whilst at the solstices they entered on the south and emerged at the north; month by month striking those of the signs of the Zodiac (painted on the walls within) in which the sun chanced to be. (*Annales Archéol.* xviii. 341, and xxvi. 189 and 250.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
March	Two men, one seated, the other standing, with hawks. A man standing, nimbed of fire, holding in each hand a horn. (See note 72.)
April	A man presenting flowers to a kneeling woman. A man embracing a woman, apparently welcoming her. A woman kneeling; her hands raised in supplication. A young woman richly clothed, holding a flower in each hand; the earth on which she stands sprinkled with flowers. (See note 39.) A garden filled with flowers, in the midst a white bird flying. A woman richly clothed gathering flowers. A woman richly clothed with a basket of flowers in each hand.
May	A man holding by the left hand the trunk of a tree, and by the right a hawk or other bird. A young man on horseback holding the branch of a tree, galloping to the left; on the ground, beneath the horse, another branch or little tree. (See note 58.) A man carrying a tree covered with flowers upon his shoulder. (See note 51.)
June	A man binding sheaves of corn; behind, a sheaf already bound. A man reaping corn. (See note 6.) A man carrying a sheaf of corn on his back. A man swimming.
July	Three men walking at ease through a wood. Two men sitting under a tree watching a hawk. A man thrashing corn. (See note 73.) A man separating chaff from grain by means of a shovel.
August	A man gathering grapes; by his side, a boy holding a basket. (See note 64.) A man pruning a vine.
September	A man carrying snares in his hands for catching birds. (See note 53.)
October	A man holding a cup of wine in each hand; casks behind. (See note 64.) Two men quarrelling upon a seat; a glass of wine upset. A peasant tilling the ground with a mattock. (See note 52.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
NOVEMBER - - -	A peasant beating down acorns from an oak for pigs beneath. (See note 25.)
DECEMBER - - -	A man ripping open a pig, suspended with its head downwards; a woman standing near holding a dish; on the ground a pail of water. (See note 26.) A man carrying a bundle of wood upon his shoulders; before him a fire of wood. (See notes 11 and 33.) A young man, richly clad, seated on the ground, with a hawk on his fist. A man digging the ground with a spade.
JANUARY - - -	A naked man seated in a chair before a fire on which is a pan, boiling; before him a boy holding a circular object, perhaps a cake; a woman near the door with a bundle of wood in her arms; behind the man a bed, a cat and dog attending. (See notes 66 and 11.) A man richly clothed carrying a tree in each hand. (See note 48.)
FEBRUARY - - -	A man in a white hat with two feathers, pruning trees. (See note 2.)

During the recent restoration of the choir of Cologne Cathedral, some remains of distemper paintings or frescoes were found upon the spandrils of the choir arcades, but it is impossible to say how far the present angels resemble the old ones. The latter were executed by Steinle, assisted by artists of the Düsseldorf school; but, so far as I can ascertain from inquiry upon the spot, they were suggested by ancient examples. Round the apse, that is, in the immediate neighbourhood of the high altar, are seraphim on gold backgrounds, and the remaining orders follow one another westward. In the first pair of spandrils from the apse on the south side, the easternmost angel holds the sun, and the westernmost the moon; and above, between them, is the segment of a circle containing the signs —*Pisces*, *Aries*, *Taurus*, *Gemini*. In the spandrils opposite, the easternmost angel holds the earth, and the westernmost twelve stars; and in the segment above and between them are the signs—*Cancer*, *Leo*, *Virgo*, *Libra*. Several of the angels in the angel-choir at Lincoln, which is of the same date as the choir at Cologne, are crowned with stars, and one holds the sun in one hand and the moon in the other; but there is no appearance of the Zodiac.

The representation of the Zodiac in company with angels appears to be of Greek origin. Didron mentions such a painting on the vault of "l'église principale du grand couvent d'Iviron," on Mount Athos. In this the Almighty is sur-

rounded by choirs of angels, with the Virgin on one side and St. John on the other. At the four angles of the square thus formed are the four evangelistic symbols, and surrounding the whole, each in a separate compartment of its own, the twelve signs of the Zodiac and corresponding months of the year.

On painted glass, "in the rose windows of our great churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," it is stated by Viollet-le-Duc (*op. cit. Art. Zodiaque*) that Zodiacs are of frequent occurrence. I am not myself aware of any such, in England, but there are three small medallions in Dewsbury church, Yorkshire (figured Plate V. figs. 2, 3 and 4), which appear to have belonged to a set of either months or seasons of the year—it is now difficult to say which. They belong to the fourteenth century—I believe to about the end of the first quarter. Assuming that they belonged to a set representing originally the four seasons of the year, they may be described as follows :—

SEASON.	SYMBOL.
WINTER - - - -	A man, in shoes and hosen, with a loosely fitting tunic confined at the waist by a belt, killing a pig; the animal's head fastened by the snout to the stump of a tree, and the fore and hinder feet pressed firmly forward as though straining to get loose, and the mouth partly open as though in the act of screaming; the man's arms thrown back and holding an axe, with the back of which he is in the act of striking the animal's neck; two sprays of foliage behind. (See notes 45, 26 and 32.)
SPRING - - -	(Wanting.)
SUMMER - - - -	A man, dressed like the last, except that he has no belt, treading on the stubble of ground already cleared, grasping with his left hand a bunch of corn standing in full ear before him, and cutting it with a sickle having a rough or toothed edge, held in the right hand. (86.)
AUTUMN - - - -	A man, dressed like the last, threshing some sheaves of corn, which lie before him, with a flail; the yellow grains of corn are flying from the ears, and in the back ground are his "forenoon" or "afternoon drinkings," as they are still called in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in a jug, kept from becoming flat by the cup which stands on the top. (See notes 12 and 30.)

In the Mayor's Parlour, adjoining the Town Hall, at Leicester, there are two medallions remaining out of a similar but much later series. The glazing appears to have consisted originally of a series of panels of quarries of white glass orna-

Fig 1.

Fig 2.

Fig 3

Fig 4.

C. F. Kell lith. London

GLASS FROM THE CHURCHES OF S^{T} MARY SHREWSBURY AND ALL SAINTS DEWSBURY

C.F. Kell lith. London

GLASS FROM THE MAYORS' PARLOUR AT LEICESTER.

mented with stained yellow devices, surrounded by borders of elegant conventional foliage twisted round sticks, with a circular picture or medallion, for the most part executed in yellow and brown, within a rich geometrical framework, introduced in each panel independently of the arrangement of the quarries. On one or more of the quarries is a harpy, the badge of Richard III.; on another a bear and flag; and the subjects of some of the medallions are also heraldic, as for instance the Tudor rose, the portcullis, a crown, the ostrich-feather badge, and the arms of the city of Leicester. Four of the medallions may, I think, have represented respectively the four seasons of the year, or there may have been (though at present there does not appear room for it) a series of the months. The execution of the glass throughout is that which prevailed during the early part of the reign of Henry VII., and the occurrence of the chalice and wafer badge, as one of the quarry patterns, suggests that the glass may have belonged originally to the Guild of Corpus Christi, the site of whose ancient buildings is at present occupied by the Town Hall, and whose premises have served for municipal purposes to a greater or less extent ever since the reign of Henry VII., as appears from the following entry in the Hall book :—

> "In ye tyme of the mayraltie of Mr Hurst yan beyng mayre At a Comon Hall holden in leycestr at Corp. Xpi Halle on fryday nyxt after xii^te^ day the x. yere of Kyng Henry vii^te^ . . . . ."

The most interesting subjects in the glazing were engraved by Mr. Nichols in his History of Leicestershire, vol. i. plate xxxi. including the two medallions figured in Plate VI.; but his engravings are uncoloured, and on so small a scale as to be almost useless for scientific purposes.

SEASON.	SYMBOL.
JUNE, or Summer Solstice	A man, in a garden, cutting up thistles from the plants they grow amongst with a weed-hook and crotch: behind, his master's castle; and above, on a scroll, the word JUNII. (87.)
SEPTEMBER, or Autumnal Equinox	A man threshing with a flail; two sheaves of wheat are lying upon the floor, which is covered with grain; behind is a heap of corn, the produce of his labour; and above, on a scroll, the word SEPTEMBAR. (See notes 30 and 12.)
DECEMBER, or Winter Solstice	A fragment, representing a man warming himself at a fire of sticks. (See notes 11, 27, 33, and 66.)

One odd compartment of a very late painted glass Zodiac yet remains in the west window of the south porch of St. Mary's church, Shrewsbury (Plate V., fig. 1). The crab is sidling upon, rather than through, a basin of golden water full of sprigs of sea-weed, and above is the inscription *Sol in Cancro.* The drawing is stiff and inaccurate, but the shading is finely stippled, and applied with great care on both sides of the glass, which, with other technical details, leads me to attribute this example to about the close of the fifteenth century.

A perfect series of signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months, in company with the Virtues and Vices, occurs in the magnificent rose west window of the cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris. This example is of thirteenth-century date. (*Annales Archéol.* x. 7, 8.)

In the early glass at Chartres there is a representation of vinedressers at work, and of a stag-hunt with hound and horn; and at Amiens, of the interior of a slaughter-house. In the last, a pig slit open hangs suspended with its head downwards; and an ox, with its head tied to one of its fore legs, is being struck by a butcher with an axe, the back of which is directed to the animal's head. (See note 45.) I am not aware whether or no these subjects form portions of series of months or seasons. It is, however, not improbable that they do.

The four seasons of the year are admirably represented upon a font at Thorp Salvin, in Yorkshire, brought under the notice of the Society as early as the year 1794, by Mr. Holden (*Archæologia*, vol. xii.). This font is also noticed and engraved by Mr. Hunter in his South Yorkshire. I shall, however, I trust, be pardoned for once more occupying the attention of the Society with this subject, and furnishing some additional particulars. The font measures one foot eleven inches in height and two feet nine inches in width, and is cut out of a magnificent block of stone of considerable size, which looks like a fine white saccharoid marble, but may possibly be some local stone with which I am not acquainted. The workmanship agrees in date, I believe, with the Norman part of the church to which it belongs, and may be referred confidently, I think, to the reign of Stephen. The sculptures are remarkably free and spirited, and in advance of most works of that date with which I am acquainted. The subjects are contained in eight compartments. The first two are occupied by a representation of the sacrament of baptism. A priest is immersing an infant in a font, and four other much smaller (because subsidiary) figures are standing by, one of them holding an open book, one half of which is broken away. The third is an arcade of intersecting arches to divide the subject just described from those which follow (88). The fourth contains a human face with a pair of bundles of

chevrons descending from the chin and terminating in grotesques (89). Then follow the seasons:—

SEASON.	SYMBOL.
5. WINTER - - -	An old man, with long beard, thickly clothed in fur, with which his head also is enveloped, seated in a chair warming his hands and feet before a fire; the fire-place supported on four columns (three of which are visible), and furnished with a conical roof. (See notes 11, 27, and 33.)
6. SPRING - -	A young man in a short coat reaching to the knees, with a cap on, and basket under the left hand hung by a strap from the right shoulder, sowing. (See note 1.)
7. SUMMER - - -	A man wearing a cap, and with a cloak thrown over his shoulder, riding on horseback over a bridge, with running water below, and waving the leafy bough of a tree above his head. (90.)
8. AUTUMN - -	A man standing on stubble, with a sickle under his girdle, stooping, and binding up sheaves; above his head (intended to be in background) a stook of corn composed of three large sheaves inverted on six smaller upright ones; and higher still a single sheaf lying horizontally. (See notes 6, 22, 68, and 86.) (91.)

The seasons also are represented on some capitals of the twelfth century in the abbey church of Cluny. Two of these are engraved in the *Annales Archéologiques*, xxvi. 380-387. Each exhibits a female full-length figure, of great proportionate height, and is contained within a *vesica piscis*, which has an inscribed border, surrounded by conventional foliage:—

SEASON.	SYMBOL.
SPRING - - - -	Young, simple, and beautiful, carrying very carefully a casket (filled with sweet odours); with the inscription—VER PRIMOS FLORES PRIMOS P̄DVCIT ODORES.
SUMMER - - -	More advanced in years, and clothed more lightly (mutilated). Inscription— . . . . . VENS ꝗAS DECOQIT ÆSTAS.

The four seasons of the year, again, are thus represented on the west front of Rheims Cathedral. (*Ibid.* xiv. 28, 310.)

SEASON.	SYMBOL.
Winter - - -	A man, thickly clothed, warming himself before a fire. (See notes 11, 27, and 33.)
Spring - - - -	A young man standing (mutilated; head, hands, and accessories gone).
Summer - - -	A mantle floating in the breeze (mutilated; the figure which wore it, gone).
Autumn - - -	A centaur, armed with a bow, shooting out arrows. (See note 14.)

And at Chartres Cathedral two of the seasons, winter and spring, are represented; summer and autumn being omitted for lack of room. (*Ibid.* i. 244.)

The Thorp Salvin, Dewsbury, Leicester, Rheims, and Cluny seasons can readily be compared with one another; but, in order to show the relationship of the months as represented in the various authorities already noticed, I have tabulated them. These tables, with two others of classical representations of the months and seasons, will be found at the end of the paper. I regret that I shall not have space to compare the different series and members of series more at length, and show the influence of climate and other circumstances in modifying the designs, or to enlarge, as I could wish, on several points of suggestive detail. These will, however, be more or less obvious, with a little attention, and be found of great interest.

There can be little doubt that the clue to the spirit in which these representations were made will be found in the fact that every particle of ancient ecclesiastical architecture had a mystic or symbolic import, in addition to its mere constructive value; and, conversely, that everything which was capable of conveying a mystic lesson was, independently of its mere constructive excellence or beauty, of importance to the ancient architect. All knowledge, all experience, everything in which the soul of man can have an interest, in this world or the next, he had

a place for. What S. John Damascene had said of sculptured images, he applied in a wider sense in his art, which was concerned—not with one only, but with every form of imagery. His churches were to be—not merely houses of worship, but the books of the unlearned. "Quidquid liber est iis qui litteras didicerunt, hoc .... est illiteratis et rudibus." The well-known verses of the Abbé Suger, the illustrious architect of S. Denis, placed by him upon the *façade* of his cathedral, have a peculiar interest in connection with this part of the subject, for they are there in connection with one of the very series of the months which we have been considering:

> "Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit
> Et, demersa prius, hac visa luce resurgit."

And as all human knowledge in the middle ages, if not more extensive, was at least far more methodically classified and arranged than our own, it came to pass that architectural embellishments were likewise methodical; and, as the intense love of nature and religious feeling of the Gothic mind was reflected, so to speak, in the great Encyclopædias, or *Specula* as they were called, so the Encyclopædias themselves were embodied in the creations of art—petrified on the walls, wrought into the floors, painted on the ceilings, or, sparkling, yet serene, in gem-like purity and richness, shone forth from the mosaics of colour and crystal in the windows. Thus, as M. Didron has so ably shown, is the *Speculum Universale* of Vincent de Beauvais—that greatest of all the mediæval encyclopædists, embodied in the 1448 statues which decorate the exterior of Chartres Cathedral; the *Speculum Naturale*, beginning with the creation of the world and of man, and describing the entire universe, down to the fall of man; the *Speculum Doctrinale*, exhaustive of all that is done by man under the sun, of all mechanical and liberal arts, whereby the consequences of the fall are to a great extent remedied; the *Speculum Morale*, setting forth the duties of life to be fulfilled, the vices to be overcome, and, generally, the means whereby man attains blessedness; the *Speculum Historiale*, or History of the World from the Creation to the Last Judgment, showing to what extent in different ages of the world these things have been and are capable of being realized. In less important buildings or under different circumstances, one only or more of the great divisions of the work were taken for illustration, or even part of a division, the rest being taken elsewhere. Time and space, not the will, forbad the embodiment of more; and hence, though the written book is one, the book of mediæval art is in scattered leaves, like the leaves of the Sibylline books, which we must seek for and find out as we can.

The Zodiacal representations which we have been considering, belong more especially to the *Speculum Naturale*, and were employed, primarily, out of the fulness of that enthusiasm and love of nature which Mr. Ruskin has so clearly shown to be one of the most important moral elements in the Gothic mind. But it must also be remembered that the signs of the Zodiac were as naturally associated with the actions of the every-day life of our forefathers as the months and days of the month are with our own, and as naturally suggested to the devout the duties and obligations of the seasons which they indicated. When, that, for instance,—

" the yonge sonne
" Hath in the Ram his halfe cours i-ronne,
" And smale fowles maken melodie,
" That slepen al the night with open yhe,
" So priketh hem nature in here corages ;
" Thanne longen folk to gon on pilgrimages,
" And palmers for to seeken straunge strondes,
" To ferne halwes, kouthe in sondry londes ;"

and so on of the rest. And the course of the sun through the Zodiac had a still deeper and more important significance. It represented the course of the Sun of Righteousness through the festivals of the Church, which marked the divisions of the ecclesiastical year as the signs of the Zodiac did the divisions of the natural.

" Festum Clementis caput hyemis est venientis,
" Cedit hyems retro, cathedrato Simone Petro,
" Ver fugit Urbanus, æstatem Symphorianus." (94.)

The Christian year thus formed a kind of *Zodiacus Vitæ :*

" . . . . . quia vita per ipsum
" Ducta nitet, ceu sol per sua signa means."

Had not the demon of " Restoration " even dared to enter and disturb the paintings of Giotto in the great hall of Padua, I might have pointed to that as an admirable illustration of the parallelism in mediæval art of the natural and

mystic Zodiacs. Each Apostle originally presided over the sign of the Zodiac and labour of the month during which his festival fell. (*Ann. Arch.* xix. 242.) The comparatively recent alteration of this arrangement is a striking illustration of how much more destructive to history ignorant meddlesomeness is than the natural decay of time.

The reason why the Zodiac was so often placed on doorways, would seem to be connected with the idea of Our Lord as at once the Sun of Righteousness and the Door of his Church. At S. Gereon's, Cologne, is a doorway in the tympanum of which is a mosaic of Our Lord in the attitude of benediction, holding in his left hand a book, in which is written—ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Η ΘΥΡΑ. Representations of Our Lord with an open book in a *vesica piscis* supported by angels in the tympanum of doorways, without inscription or any further adjunct, occur at Ely Cathedral, Shobdon in Herefordshire, and various other places. And, as at Parma the natural sun is represented in the midst of the signs, so in some places, at Venice for instance, Our Lord himself is sculptured in the tympanum, sitting within the Zodiac. At Vezelay, as has been mentioned, in connection with the signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months, Christ is sculptured in company with the twelve Apostles; and at Malmesbury, in the tympanum of the doorway of the south porch, Our Lord is supported in a *vesica piscis* by two angels, with the twelve Apostles seated, six on either side, to the right and left, while the labours of the months are sculptured on a separate doorway. As the natural sun is replaced in these examples by the Sun of Righteousness, so are the signs of the Zodiac by the Apostles, the first to reflect the light from Our Lord, and to be the pathway of his grace; and as the stars of the Zodiac possessed an interest to the ancient astronomer which no other stars possessed, so the Apostles here shine forth as a kind of synecdoche of that greater company of saints which are as the stars in multitude. S. Paul, it will be remembered, applies to the Apostles the verse in the Psalms—*Their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words into the ends of the world* (Rom. x. 18, compared with Psalm xix. 4). S. Chrysostom adds—"Misit Christus apostolos, quasi sol radios suos, quasi rosa suavitatis suæ odorem, quasi ignis scintillas suas dispersit, ut, sicut sol in radiis suis apparet, sicut rosa in odoribus suis sentitur, sicut ignis in scintillis suis adspicitur, sic in illorum virtutibus Christi potentia cognoscatur." And S. Ambrose—"Hoc est pretiosissimum, quod homo divinæ vocis sit organum et corporalibus labiis exprimit cœleste oraculum." (Quoted in *Legend. Aur.* cap. clxii.) (96.) In some churches, or in certain positions, a representation of the Blessed Virgin Annunciate is, with peculiar significance, substituted for that of Our Lord, as over the

north door, for instance, of the Norman Abbey of St. Aubin at Angers, and over the great door of the Chapter House at Westminster. Or the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child may be represented; and that either alone, as at the door of the Chapter House at York, or with the Zodiac and months, as over the principal doors of the Cathedrals of Notre Dame at Rheims and Paris; or with still other symbolism superadded, as at Paris, where, besides the Virgin and Child above, allegorical representations of the Sea and Earth are situated beneath, and Heaven, Sea, Earth, and Man, are thus made to substantiate the Incarnation, or keystone of the Christian faith. Or a patron saint may be substituted, and that again either alone, as at Ruardean church, Gloucestershire, or with an incompassing Zodiac, as at Brinsop.

On floors there was, for obvious reasons, less scope for elaborate symbolism than on doorways. There is, however, sufficient to show that even here the months and Zodiac had a mystic meaning. At Aosta, associated with the months and Zodiac, we have again the natural sun to symbolize the Sun of Righteousness, together with the four Rivers of Paradise, which in mediæval art are used to symbolize the four Evangelists, whose sacred function was to receive the streams of Divine Grace, and scatter them through the world.

On fonts, the signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months appear to have indicated that, as the phenomena of the seasons were outward and visible signs of the inward and quickening power of the sun, so the outward and visible parts of the Sacraments derived their efficacy from the inward and spiritual immanence and operance of the Sun of Righteousness. (95). This interpretation is supported by those examples in which, in connection with the seasons, Our Lord is represented; re-calling the still more ancient traditional representations of Orpheus surrounded by the seasons of the year, as in the Littlecote pavement for instance. Our Orpheus, we know, "shall draw all men unto him." The representation of the Resurrection of our Saviour with the months of the year, as on the Brookland font, is an interesting modification of the same idea. "If we are planted together in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection." From the winter of sin and death we shall spring anew with fragrant and budding virtues; summer will be advanced in our souls by the fervid heat of the Holy Spirit; and our autumn will bring forth in us in due season the fruits of righteousness. It is in vain to object that these allusions are too intricate or refined; they are the ones by which those who designed the works we

are considering were influenced (96), and we shall never fully understand what our forefathers wrought, until we take into our hands and seriously study the very books which they had and none others, and surround ourselves with the atmosphere of their daily life and habit of thought, and disassociate our own.

Around or in the neighbourhood of altars, mosaics, incised and encaustic tiles, and other pavers, were a convenient and beautiful medium for representing the months and seasons. Some of those described above still occupy, some are known to have occupied, and it is not unlikely that others, those at Melton, Hull, &c., for instance, may have occupied such situations. Their significance, in addition to their effectiveness as mere ornaments, will be gathered from the preceding paragraph. Zodiacs high up on walls, especially associated with angels, as in the Angel-choir of Cologne, recall that most sublime and venerable Preface of the Mass—"Vere dignum, &c. . . . . Per quem majestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates. Cœli cœlorumque Virtutes, ac beata Seraphim socia exultatione concelebrant. . . . . Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua, Hosanna in excelsis;" which, again, is but an echo of that still older, richer, and even sweeter song when, or ever the foundations of the earth and the world were laid, "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." (Job xxxviii. 7.)

Each several employment of the months, again, in whatever situation, had its own mystical interpretation. The seed was the Word of God, &c. (Luke viii. 11); the harvest—the end of the world (Rev. xiv. 15); the threshing, or "tribulation," of the corn—that tribulation "of the inner spiritual man, without which there could be no fitting him for the heavenly garner" (Trench, *Study of Words*, p. 33); and so on of the rest (96). The necessary and inevitable order and law of nature and of God, moreover, was a useful and instructive lesson conveyed by these representations, especially when they were combined with others taken from the Scriptures. At Easby, for instance, on the walls, the seasons are found amongst pictures of the Creation of Man, the Garden of Eden, the Temptation, the Fall, the Expulsion, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Watching of the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Kings, the Taking Down from the Cross, and the Entombment, with perhaps other subjects now gone. Throughout the whole of Scripture the God of Nature is identified with the God of Grace—the God by whom we are created and sustained, with the God by whom we are

redeemed and sanctified; and a special appeal is made to recognize in the God who sware unto David—"Thy seed will I establish for ever," the God of the primeval covenant—"While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night, shall not cease." (Compare Gen. viii. 22, with Jer. xxxiii. 20-26, Psal. lxxxix. 4, 36, 37, and Luke i. 31-33).

The occupations and symbols of the months, however, like the virtues with which they are so frequently associated, belong more particularly to the *Speculum Doctrinale;* and indicate the yearly round of human labour, engaged in not sullenly, or as a thing to be ashamed of, but joyfully and heartily, as the Will of God. "Man goeth forth to his work, and to his labour, until the evening"—"I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live, I will praise my God while I have my being," is reflected in every series; witness the singing bird and overhanging tree at Amiens; the crowning with flowers at Venice; the flowers held in the hand at York, at Verona, at Lucca, at Cremona, at Worcester; the waving bough of foliage at Thorp Salvin, at Venice, at Parma, at Modena; the horseback ride and field-sports at Easby, at Brookland, at Worcester, at Parma, at Modena, at Verona, at Lucca, at Cremona, at Amiens, at Piacenza; the feasting at Deepdale, at Brookland, at York, at Cremona, at Amiens, at St. Ursin. Not that, if scenes of beauty and hours of leisure were thus plentifully afforded, labour itself, in its season, was to be less with might or main. All the representations which we have had to notice possess that sternness and inflexibility which Mr. Ruskin again has pointed out as one of the great elements of Gothic art. It is probable that Thorwaldsen's Four Seasons indicate as passionate a love and grasp of Nature as ever was attained in Gothic times; but, whereas *beauty—female* beauty is there obviously the highest aim and ideal of the artist, and man—if introduced at all—is merely there as a foil the more strikingly to set forth her loveliness, in the middle ages the predominating idea was *manly strength*, and the primæval sentence—*cursed is the ground for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life*—was embodied in all its grandeur. (97.) Man is represented fighting against and triumphing over nature. And, as we have seen that the signs of the Zodiac had not only an exoteric but an esoteric meaning, so the labours of the months, besides their more obvious meaning, represented also the ever-momentous struggle between virtue and vice. "In the sweat of his brow man tills the field, and it frets him that it should bear thorns and thistles which he must uproot." His very fretful-

ness, however, rouses him to activity; the Sacraments of the Church, dependent upon the Sun of Righteousness for their being and efficacy, as the seasons of the year upon the natural sun for theirs, are ready to sustain and strengthen him; and thus he labours until the golden grain is gathered into the garner—until the flesh is conquered, and the spirit is free.

Table I.—Operations of the Months

Months.	Cott. MSS. Tiberius, B. v.	Cott. MSS. Julius A. vi.	Bede Woodcut Mottoes.	Bede Woodcuts.	Clogg Alm. No. 1.	Clogg Alm. No. 2.
January	Ploughing and sowing.	Ploughing.	Poto.	Feasting.	Feasting. Hunting.	Feasting. Hunting.
February	Pruning vines.	Pruning.	Ligna cremo.	Felling trees.	Pruning.	Fishing.
March	Digging and sowing.	Digging and sowing.	De vite superflua demo.	Pruning vines. Gardening.	Spinning. Sowing.	Spinning.
April	Feasting.	Feasting.	Do germen gratum.	Hunting stag.	Tree in leaf, and bird singing.	Cow and calf. Bird singing.
May	Tending sheep and lambs.	Tending sheep and lambs.	Mihi flos servit.	Rogation procession.	Milk pail.	Birds.
June	Reaping.	Cutting timber.	Mihi pratum.	Sheep-shearing.	Fishing.	Flowers.
Intercalary.	...	...	...	...	...	...
July	Felling trees.	Mowing grass.	Spicas declino.	Hay-making.	Hay-making. Corn harvest.	Hay-making.
August	Making hay.	Reaping corn.	Messes meto.	Reaping.	Thrashing.	Corn-harvest. Stag hunt.
September	Boar hunting.	Driving swine to the woods.	Vina propino.	Apple gathering.	Sheap shearing. Fall of hog-mast. Stag hunt.	Fruits. Fall of hog-mast.
October	Hawking.	Hawking.	Semen humi jacto.	Gathering and pressing grapes.	Autumnal fishing. Wool carding.	Harrowing. Fall of leaf.
November	Warming at fire.	Warming at fire.	Mihi pasco sues.	Beating oaks.	Martinmas goose.	A goose.
December	Thrashing.	Thrashing.	Mihi macto.	Killing swine.	Feasting. Spinning.	Feasting.

Months.	Doorway, Modena.	Porch, Verona.	Doorway, Lucca.	Doorway, Cremona.	Doorway, S. Ursin.	Doorway, Sens.
January	Woman spinning (?)	Warming at fire.	Warming at fire.	Feasting.	Cooking.	Resting.
February	Warming at fire.	Pruning.	Sowing.	Digging.	Warming.	Warming.
March	Breaking boughs off a tree.	Blowing horns.	Pruning.	Blowing a horn. (?)	Pruning.	Pruning vine.
April	Pruning vines.	Holding flowers.	Holding a flower.	Holding a flower.	Holding flowers.	Sowing.
May	Man standing at horse's head.	Warrior on horseback.	On horseback, holding something	On a mule, holding something.	(Indistinct.)	Man and horse.
June	Mowing grass.	Gathering fruit.	Reaping.	Reaping.	Mowing grass.	A mower.
July	Reaping.	Reaping.	Thrashing.	Man with two horses.	Reaping.	A reaper.
August	Raking. (?)	Making a barrel.	Gathering grapes.	Hammering a barrel.	Thrashing.	Thrashing.
September	Crushing grapes.	Gathering grapes.	Crushing grapes.	Gathering grapes.	Crushing grapes.	The vintage.
October	Barrelling wine.	Beating oaks.	Barrelling wine.	Vine with pig at roots.	Barrelling wine.	Barrelling wine.
November	Sowing.	Killing a pig.	Ploughing.	Slitting a pig.	Killing a pig.	Cutting wood.
December	Cutting wood.	Carrying sticks.	Cutting up a pig.	Cutting wood.	Feasting.	Killing a pig.

FROM MEDIÆVAL SOURCES. (92.)

Font, Deepdale.	Font, Brookland.	Doorway, York.	Doorway, Venice.	Baptistery, Parma.	Doorway, Parma.
Feasting.	Janus feasting.	Janus feasting.	Carrying wood.	Tilling ground.	Warming at fire. (?)
Warming at fire.	Warming at fire. (?)	Warming at fire.	Warming at fire.	Digging.	Sowing. (?)
Digging.	Pruning a shrub.	Pruning.	Warrior blowing a horn.	(Defaced.)	Soldier leading a horse.
Pruning a tree.	Holding a sprouting plant.	Holding up flowers.	Carrying a sheep, and a branch of foliage.	Holding a branch of foliage.	Pruning.
Rogation procession.	Riding with hawk on fist.	Man with an ox.	Crowning with flowers.	Riding on horseback.	Reaping.
Weeding.	Mowing grass.	Two leaves.	Reaping.	Reaping.	Making a barrel.
...	...	Mowing grass.	...	...	...
Mowing grass.	Raking (?), or weeding. (?)	Weeding.	Mowing grass.	Man with two horses.	Gathering grapes.
Corn-harvest.	Corn-harvest.	Reaping.	Asleep in chair.	Hammering a barrel.	Tasting wine.
Thrashing.	Thrashing.	Gathering grapes.	Carrying grapes.	Gathering grapes.	Slitting a pig.
Barrelling wine.	Crushing grapes.	Beating oaks.	Digging.	Sowing. (?)	Cutting wood.
Killing a pig.	Beating oaks.	Killing a pig.	Catching birds.	Man with gourds.	Janus warming at fire.
Feasting.	Killing a pig.	Feasting.	Killing a pig.	Pruning.	Catching birds.

Doorway, Rheims.	Doorway, Amiens.	Capital, Ducal Palace.	Misericordes, Worcester.	Misericordes, Malvern.	Misericordes, Gloucester.	Watching Loft, S. Alban's.
Feasting.	Janus, feasting.	Warming feet.	Spinning. Digging.	...	...	Feasting.
Warming at fire.	Warming at fire.	Frying fish.	Warming at fire.	...	...	Warming at fire.
Tilling a vine.	Digging vines.	Blowing a horn.	Sowing.	Sowing.	...	Tending sheep.
Pruning a vine.	With hawk on fist.	With a chaplet of flowers.	Holding roses.	Holding roses.	...	Tending sheep and lambs.
Holding flowers.	Sitting under trees.	Holding a rose.	Hawk on fist.	...	...	Milking a cow.
Hawking.	Mowing grass.	Carrying cherries.	Mowing.	Mowing.	...	Mowing grass.
Mowing grass.	Reaping.	Reaping.	Weeding.	Weeding.	...	Weeding.
Reaping.	Thrashing.	Hammering a barrel.	Reaping.	...	...	Reaping.
Thrashing.	Gathering fruit.	Crushing grapes.	A huntsman.	Carrying fruit.	Gathering fruit. A huntsman.	Oak and squirrel A huntsman.
Barrelling wine.	Crushing grapes.	Thrashing.	Beating oaks.	Beating oaks.	The vintage. A hunter.	The vintage.
Carrying wood.	Sowing.	Measuring grain.	Sow and pigs.	...	Swine feeding.	Sow and pigs.
Killing a pig.	Killing swine.	Killing a pig.	Killing an ox.	Killing an ox.	...	...

Table I.—Operations of the Months from Mediæval Sources—*continued.*

Months.	Pavers, S. Denis.	Pavers, S. Omer's.	Mosaic Floor, Piacenza.	Mosaic, Aosta.	Wall Painting, Easby.	Paintings, Padua.	Painted Glass, Leicester.
January	...	Janus feasting.	(Defaced.)	Janus.	...	Warming at fire. Cooking.	...
February	Warming at fire.	Tilling the ground.	(Defaced.)	Warming at fire.	...	Pruning.	...
March	Pruning.	Pruning a vine.	Blowing a horn.	Pruning.	Sowing; a crow picking.	Holding horns.	...
April	Young man and woman under trees	...	Pruning fig trees.	Holding flowers.	Pruning a tree.	Holding flowers.	...
May	On horseback, with hawk on fist.	...	Standing beside a mule.	Hawking.	Digging.	Hawking.	...
June	...	Holding a rake.	Raking.	Mowing grass.	Man on horse-back	Reaping.	Weeding.
July	...	...	Reaping.	Reaping.	...	Thrashing.	...
August	...	...	Hammering a barrel.	Thrashing.	...	Gathering grapes.	...
September	...	...	Crushing grapes.	Crushing grapes.	...	With snares for birds.	Thrashing.
October	...	Gathering fruits.	(Defaced.)	Sowing.	...	Tasting wine.	...
November	...	Sowing.	(Defaced.)	Carrying wood.	...	Beating oaks for swine.	...
December	...	Killing a pig.	Slitting a pig.	Killing a pig.	...	Slitting a pig.	Warming at fire.

Table II.—Classical Representations of the Months.

Months.	Illuminated Calendar, circ. A.D. 354, Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, Suppl. Tom. i. Pl. iv.—xvi. cited in part by Mr. A. W. Franks, *Archæologia*, xxxviii. p. 228.	Tetrastichs, attributed to Ausonius, beneath each picture in the preceding series.	Mosaic Pavement, from Carthage, described by Mr. A. W. Franks, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 227.	Sarcophagus in the Barberini Collection at Rome, Montfaucon, Pl. iii.	Medallion of the Emperor Alexander Severus, Montfaucon, op. cit. Pl. ii.	Mosaic Pavement from Central Asia. *Ann. Arch.* xxiii. and xxiv.
January	A consul, holding in his left hand a trefoil, and with his right scattering upon the fire of an altar incense in honour of Janus and the Lares. Below, a cock (which was sacrificed on the first of January); and at the side a second altar, on which is a vessel containing material for libation.	Hic Jani mensis sacer est; en aspice, ut aris Thura micent; sumant ut pia thura Lares. Annorum seclique caput, natalis honorum, Purpureos fastis qui numerat Proceres.		The twelve signs of the Zodiac surrounding a medallion	The twelve signs of the Zodiac surrounding a	Medallions containing human busts
February	A woman, in a tunic bound at the waist with a girdle, holds a goose in her hands (indicative of the wetness of the month). Above, an inverted vessel pouring out water; on her right, a heron, on her left, a fish; indicative of the same.	At quem cœruleus nodo constringit amictus, Quique paludicolam prendere gaudet avem, Dædala quem jactu pluvio circumvenit Iris, Romuleo ritu Februa mensis habet.				

TABLE II.—CLASSICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MONTHS—*continued.*

MONTHS.	Illuminated Calendar, circ. A.D. 354, Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, Suppl. Tom. i. Pl. iv.– xvi. cited in part by Mr. A. W. Franks, *Archæologia*, xxxviii. p. 228.	Tetrastichs, attributed to Ausonius, beneath each picture in the preceding series.	Mosaic Pavement, from Carthage, described by Mr. A. W. Franks, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 227.	Sarcophagus in the Barberini Collection at Rome, Montfaucon, Pl. iii.	Medallion of the Emperor Alexander Severus, Montfaucon, op. cit. Pl. ii.	Mosaic Pavement from Central Asia. *Ann. Arch.* xxiii. and xxiv.
MARCH . .	"A man with long hair, clothed in skins; he holds a goat by the neck with his left hand, while with his right he points to a swallow perched on a rod; on the ground to his right is a bucket or pail, from which streams are issuing; on his left a basket-shaped vessel."	Cinctum pelle Lupæ promptum est cognoscere mensem, Mars illi nomen, Mars dedit exuvias, Tempus ver hædus petulans, et garrula hirundo Indicat, et sinus lactis, et herba virens.	A figure, seated, pointing the left hand to a bird singing in a tree. In front are two little cups, and on the ground a pail, probably intended to hold milk, and a fresh bough for the *herba virens*.	of a senator and his wife,	figure of Jupiter, seated,	little
APRIL . .	"A middle-aged man, possibly a priest of Cybele, dancing before a statuette of Venus, which is under an arch of foliage and placed on a bracket. He is clothed in a short dress, ornamented with large metal plates, and holds castanets of great length. Under his feet is a Pandean pipe, and before him a large candle burning in an elaborate candelabrum.'	Contectam myrto Venerem veneratur Aprilis, Lumen thuris habet, quo nitet alma Ceres, Cereus à dextrâ flammas diffundit odoras, Balsama nec desunt, queis redolet Paphie.	A woman dancing, with metal plates on her dress and holding castanets, with a statuette of Venus under a bower of myrtle.	with the four seasons	holding in his right hand	distin-
MAY . . .	A man, in a loose robe, carrying on his left arm a deep basket filled with flowers and fruits, and with his right hand applying a flower to his nose. At his feet a peacock; and behind, a tall plant in full leaf and flower.	Cunctas veris opes et picta rosaria gemmis Liniger in calathis, aspice, Maius habet. Mensis Atlantigenæ dictus cognomine Maiæ, Quem merito multum diligit Uranie.		of the year, two	a spear, with an eagle at	guished from
JUNE . . .	A young man, naked, pointing to a sun-dial with his finger. In his left hand is a flaming torch (to indicate the heat of the season). Behind, to the right, is a sickle; to the left, a plant in full bloom; in front, a basket filled with fruits.	Nudus membra, dehinc solares respicit horas Junius, ac Phœbum flectere monstrat iter. Idem matnras Cereris designat aristas; Floralesque fugas lilia fusa docent.		to the right and	his feet.	one
JULY . . .	"A naked male figure holding in his right hand a purse, in his left a shallow basket with fruit; at his feet is a broken object from which coins are falling, and two covered cups."	Ecce coloratos ostentat Julius artus, Crines cui rutilos spicea serta ligant: Morus sanguineos præbet gravidata racemos, Quæ medio cancri sidere læta viret.	A figure, fully clothed, picking out mulberries from a shallow vessel, and behind, the tree from which they have been picked.	two to the left.	Below are two men,	another.

Table II.—Classical Representations of the Months—*continued.*

Months.	Illuminated Calendar, circ. A.D. 354, Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, Suppl. Tom. i. Pl. iv.—xvi. cited in part by Mr. A. W. Franks, *Archæologia*, xxxviii. p. 228.	Tetrastichs, attributed to Ausonius, beneath each picture in the preceding series.	Mosaic Pavement, from Carthage, described by Mr. A. W. Franks, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii p. 227.	Sarcophagus in the Barberini Collection at Rome, Montfaucon, Pl. iii.	Medallion of the Emperor Alexander Severus, Montfaucon, op. cit. Pl. ii.	Mosaic Pavement from Central Asia. *Ann. Arch.* xxiii. and xxiv.
August . .	A naked man, with flowing hair, holding a shallow vessel full of water to his chin, about to drink. Near him is a fan of peacock's feathers, and on the ground three water-melons. By his side a large vessel (probably of drink, to quench thirst).	Fontanos latices, et lucida pocula vitro, Cerne, ut demerso torridus ore bibat. Æterno regni signatus nomine mensis, Latona genitam quo perhibent Hecaten.		Beneath are children	reclining, each holding a cornucopia;	but
September.	A naked man, carrying a cloak upon his shoulder, flying in the wind. In his right hand he holds a string, to the end of which a lizard is tied by the leg; in his left a vessel, apparently containing apples. At his feet two vessels ready for the vintage.	Surgentes acinos varios et præsecat uvas September, sub quo mitia poma jacent. Captivam filo gaudens religasse lacertam, Quæ suspensa manu nobile ludit opus.		gathering fruits,	and above are two	identified
October . .	A naked man, with a cloak thrown over one shoulder, holding in the right hand a hare, and the left upon a long wicker basket, between his legs. Behind his head is a bundle of rods, partly covered by a cloth, on which a bird is singing. At his feet a basket of fruit.	Dat prensum leporem, cumque ipso palmite fœtus October; pingues dat tibi ruris aves. Jam bromios spumare lacus, et musta sonare Apparet, vino vas calet ecce novo.		and recumbent	chariots, with horses, driven	by Greek

Table III.—Classical

Seasons.	Arch of Severus. Montfaucon, *op. cit.* Pl. ii.	Sarcophagus in Barberini Collection, Montfaucon, *op. cit.* Pl. iii.	Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, A.D. 359. Agincourt, *Hist. de l'Art. par les Mon.* tom. ii. tab. vi.
Winter . . .	A young man, winged, well clothed and shod, with his head covered, carrying in his left hand some fruits, and in his right two aquatic birds.	A young man, winged, well clothed and shod, is crowned with dry branches naked of foliage. (The arms missing.) By his side a dog.	Three young men, naked, gathering bundles of wood. One tree with a few leaves on; another nearly bare.
Spring . . .	A young man, winged, more than half naked, crowned with flowers, holding flowers in his left hand. (The right hand is broken off.)	A young man, winged, nearly naked, crowned with flowers. (The right arm, which probably held some emblem of spring, is broken.) Beneath, a little boy milking a sheep.	Two young men, winged, and two unwinged, nearly naked, gathering flowers in a basket.
Summer . . .	A young man, winged, more than half naked, crowned with ears of corn, and carrying corn in his hand.	A young man, winged, nearly naked, crowned with ears of corn. (The left arm, which probably held some emblem of Autumn, is broken.) Below, a a little boy gathering corn.	One young man, clothed, with a bowl in his hand and a swan at his feet; one young man, naked, holding a hare or fawn by its hind legs; one young man, winged, naked, holding a bowl; and two naked figures holding fruits.
Autumn . .	A young man, winged, nearly naked, holding a vessel filled with fruits in his left hand, and a bunch of grapes in his right.	A young man, winged, nearly, naked, crowned with grapes and other fruits. (Both arms gone.) Below, an animal resting its fore feet on a closed vessel; probably a panther guarding wine.	Three young men, winged, naked, at the vintage; one treading the grapes in a vat; one unwinged, assisting; and two children bringing a cart drawn by a pair of oxen.

TABLE II.—CLASSICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MONTHS—*continued.*

MONTHS.	Illuminated Calendar, circ. A.D. 354, Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, Suppl. Tom. I. Pl. iv.—xvi. cited in part by Mr. A. W. Franks, *Archæologia*, xxxviii. p. 228.	Tetrastichs, attributed to Ausonius, beneath each picture in the preceding series.	Mosaic Pavement, from Carthage, described by Mr. A. W. Franks, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 227.	Sarcophagus in the Barberini Collection at Rome, Montfaucon, Pl. iii.	Medallion of the Emperor Alexander Severus, Montfaucon, op. cit. Pl. ii.	Mosaic Pavement from Central Asia. *Ann. Arch.* xxiii. and xxiv.
NOVEMBER .	"A draped figure, with a shaven head, rests against a cippus, on which is placed the head of an animal; he holds a platter with a snake in one hand and a sistrum in the other; at his feet is a goose, and above a pomegranate."	Carbaseo surgens post hunc indutus amictu Mensis, ab antiquis sacra Deamque colit; A quo vix avidus sistro compescitur anser, Devotusque satis ubera fert humeris.	Fragment of a figure holding a sistrum.	animals, indicative of *Temporum Felicitas.*	at speed by two men; indicative of *Temporum Felicitas.*	inscriptions.
DECEMBER .	A man, thickly clothed, holding a large flaming torch in his left hand. On a table before him are dice, at which he is about to play. Behind are birds hung up by the feet; on the ground are "two fruits having the form of human hearts."	Aurea sulcatæ conjecta et semina terræ Pascit hiems, pluvio de Jove cuncta madent. Aurea nunc revocat Saturni festa December, Nunc tibi cum domino ludere verna licet.				

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEASONS. (93.)

Medallion of Commodus and of Constantine, Montfaucon, Id.	Coin of Caracalla, Montfaucon, Id.	Coin of Commodus, described by Akerman, *Roman Coins*, i. 293.	Medallion of Commodus and Verus, described by Akerman, *Roman Coins*, i. 293.	Bas-relief at Rome, engraved by Zoëga, *Bassirilievi Antichi*, i. 52.
A boy, well clothed and shod, holding a large bird in his left hand, and the bough of a tree thrown over his shoulder in the right.	A boy, well clothed and shod, holding a large bird in his left hand, and a stick, at the end of which appears to be another bird, thrown over his shoulder in the right.	Clothed, striding to the left, towards the others.	The body and head clothed: a flail with two thongs on the right shoulder; something in the left hand	Female figure fully draped, holding a bear or pig by its hind legs in her right hand, and upon her left shoulder a stick, from one end of which hangs a hare or rabbit, and from the other a bird.
A little boy, naked, holding flowers in his left hand, and carrying a kid in his right.	A little boy, naked, holding flowers in his left hand, and carrying a kid in his right.	With a wreath, held over the head with both hands.	Naked, holding a dish or basket above the head, apparently scattering seed.	Female figure, shoulders bare, otherwise draped to the feet, holding seeds or berries in a fold of drapery.
A little boy, naked, carrying a sickle.	A little boy, naked, carrying a sickle.	With a sickle in the right hand, advancing towards the left.	Naked, a sickle in the right hand, something like corn in the left.	Female figure, shoulders bare, otherwise draped to the feet, holding a garland.
A little boy, naked, carrying a basket filled with fruits upon his head.	A little boy, naked, carrying a basket filled with fruits upon his head.	Standing to the left, and holding up a hare or fawn by its hind legs with his right hand; in his left, a dish.	Naked; a hare or fawn, apparently held by its hind legs in the right hand; a dish of fruit in the left.	Female figure, shoulders bare, otherwise draped to the feet, holding a goat by its fore legs in her right hand, and a dish of fruits in her left.

TABLE III.—CLASSICAL

SEASONS.	Another Medallion of Commodus, Akerman, *Ibid.* p. 317.	Silver Situla, found at Tourdan, near Vienne, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* iv. 294.	Silver Acerra, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* iv. 295.
WINTER	"Tellus, seated beneath a vine, which she encircles with her left arm,	"An aged female seated, apparently, on a boar resting on the ground; one of the cupids which follows her is muffled up and carries dead game."	A cupid balancing "on his back a slender pole, from which hang two birds and a hare."
SPRING	while her elbow rests upon the modius; her	"A naked female, young and beautiful, crowned with flowers, seated on a panther; before her a basket of flowers, and around her several cupids."	"A cupid carrying fillets and some other objects."
SUMMER	right arm touching a globe with several stars, over	"Seated on a bull, reposing on the ground; she holds a sheaf of corn, and is accompanied by a cupid carrying a sickle."	"A cupid flying, and bearing ears of corn and a poppyhead."
AUTUMN	which are passing four boys, representing the seasons."	"A female crowned with grapes and seated upon a panther; she is preceded by a cupid bearing a basket of fruit, and followed by another cupid who is holding the panther's tail."	"A cupid supporting a basket of fruit."

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEASONS—*continued.* (93).

Mosaic Pavement, Littlecote Park. Fowler, *Mosaic Pavements, &c.* vol. i.	Mosaic Pavements, Cirencester, *Archæol. Journ.* vi. 328.	Mosaic Pavement, Bignor, *Archæologia*, xviii. 205. *Archæolog. Journ.* vi. 328.	Mosaic Pavement, from Carthage, *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 231.	Mosaic Pavement from Central Asia, *Ann. Arch.* xxiii. and xxiv.
A female figure fully clothed, with the exception of the arms, riding on a goat, empty handed.		"A female bust in a dark hood, with dark drapery over the shoulders, and holding in her hand a branch of a tree devoid of leaves."		Holding a flask or vial, but whether for wine (for feasting) or water (for the inclemency of the season) is not shown. Head enveloped in a hood.
A female figure, naked down to the hips, riding on a deer, holding in her right hand a flower.	"With a swallow on her shoulder, and flowers on her head and in her hand."		"A female head, with earrings, and a purple stripe in her dress."	Holding a basket of flowers, and crowned with what, possibly, may be intended to represent flowers.
A female figure, naked down to the hips, riding on a panther with a swan at her side.	"Ceres, holding her sickle, her head adorned with ripe corn."		"A female head of great beauty, crowned with ears of corn, and wearing a *torques* of gold."	A Ceres-like looking bust, with ornaments in the ears; horns, terminating apparently in ears of corn, rise from the brow.
A female figure, fully clothed, with the exception of the arms, riding on a bull, with a leafy bough, probably a vine branch, in her right hand.	"With a pruning hook, and a head-dress of green leaves, and groups of fruit."			A female figure, with ornaments in the hair and ears, supposed to symbolize the vintage.

NOTES.

(1). The experience of many centuries proved that though the autumn was the fittest time for ploughing and sowing in warm and temperate climates, and for such seeds as required to lie in the ground through the winter in order to come to maturity in autumn, the beginning of the year was more suitable where there was risk of the budding grain being injured by the frost. "In the warmer countries, lands would bee broken up and fallowes made, immediately after the winter Solstice or Sunstead" (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* translated by Philemon Holland, 1601, xviii. 19); but Virgil is quoted in support of the sowing of wheat and barley, as a rule, between the autumnal and winter solstice (*Ibid.* xviii. 24). In colder climates the ploughing and sowing season must necessarily be later. Thus, says Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Doct.* vi 46, edit. 1624.)—"Pingues et sicci agri proscindi et aperiri jam (mense Januario) possunt." "Si clemens fuerit hyems, hordeum galaticum, quod grave et candidum est, circa idus Januarii seramus" (cap. 48). In particular districts the occupation might be even still later. Thus, "Mense Februario locis tepidis, aut si tempus clemens, et siccum fuerit, colles pingues proscindi convenit." (Palladius, *De Agricultura*, lib. 3, quoted *Spec. Nat.* vi. 55.) "Mense Martio locis quidem frigidis prata purgari atque serenari oportet, locis autem calidis, colles pingues, et agros uliginosos proscindere, et exarare convenit (lib. 4)." "Mense quoque Aprili pingues agri quamdiu aquam tenent, post idus proscindendi sunt (lib. 5)." Mense nihilominus Maio pingues herbosique proscinduntur agri (lib. 6)." "Mense vero Junii frigidissimis locis, quæ Maio prætermissa sunt excolantur; oportet fere tunc agros æque proscindi herbosis, ac partibus gelidis vineta occari (lib. 7)." "Porro mense Augusti . . . . ager planus humidus exilis incipiat exarari (lib. 9)." Olaus Magnus describes the practice of the Northern nations in the sixteenth century as closely allied to our own. "Siliginem tamen hyemalem seminant circa occasum caniculæ, quam evoluto fere anno colligunt fertilissima messe maturam. Vernali etiam tempore eandem in fine Tauri seminant maturamque colligunt in corde Leonis. Hoc idem de tritico, hordeoque, et avena servatur." (*Hist. de Gent. Septent.* edit. 1555, xiii. 3.) But there can be little doubt that in every age and country the object of the husbandman has been to sow his seed as early as he can presume it will grow to maturity; and in this the picture under consideration and the first passage from Vincent of Beauvais, given above, mutually support one another. And here it may be remarked, at starting, that the *Speculum Universale* of Vincent of Beauvais is the most valuable work of reference we have on mediæval husbandry, embodying not only the latest discoveries of the writer's own time (A.D. 1244), but founded upon and largely made up of extracts from Palladius, Columella, Varro, Pliny, Virgil, and such other classical works as were the standard text-books on the subject throughout the middle ages; more especially Palladius, twelve of whose fourteen books form a kind of farmers' calendar, in which the labours of the months are arranged in the order in which they have to be performed.

(2). Compare the old German name of the month—*Sprokkelmonat*, i.e., Sprouting-month. There are three chapters in Vincent of Beauvais upon the pruning of vines in February (*Spec. Doct.* vi. 57, 58, 59), and on the taking of cuttings (cap. 55). In another the art of grafting pear-trees the same month is described (cap. 69), and "Tempore hoc, si quæ (cæteræ arbores) sunt in seminariis plantæ, circumfodiendi sunt, et amputandi eis rami superflui, &c." (cap. 54). In the chapter—*De instrumentis rusticis*, we find—"Falx est qua arbores putantur et vites." (Lib. xi. 104.) The vines were also pruned in autumn, but

the spring pruning was deemed by far the most important:—"Melius .... vernum, antequam, surculus progerminet." (Columella, *De re rust.* iv. x. i.) In warm climates the spring pruning and autumnal vintage answered in importance to the spring sowing and autumnal reaping of colder climates. Pliny says—"Order in the matter so, that by the æquinox in March all your pruning and binding of vines be done and finished." . . . . Apple tree stockes and such like fruits are then to be set and graffed." (Lib. xviii. 26.) And the taking and planting of vine cuttings in early spring is described by Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 63 and 319. See also Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, vii. 43. Where February is represented bearing

"tooles to prune the trees before the pride
"Of hasting Prime did make them burgein round."

(3). As soon as the ground, wetted though with the snows of January and rains of February, has been dried by the winds of March, the husbandman prepares it to receive the precious seed. "Mense Martio . . . . . colles pingues et agros uliginosos proscindere atque exarare conveniet; calidis et siccis regionibus panicum seremus et milium. . . . . Nunc quoque cicer utrumque serere debemus . . . Hoc etiam mense canabum serimus. . . . (Vinc. Bellovac. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 79.) "Towards the latter end of this (winter) quarter it is good and necessarie to dig and turne up fresh mould with mattocke and spade against the time that roses or vines be set." (Pliny, *op. cit.* xviii. 26.) See also Spenser, *op. cit.* 32. Where it is said of March that

"in his hand a spade he also hent,
"And in a bag all sorts of seeds ysame,
"Which on the earth he strowed as he went, &c."

And Tusser:—

"In March sow thy barley thy londe not to colde:
* * * *
"Sow wheate in a meane, sow thy rie not to thin;
let peason and beanes here and there, take therein.
Sow barley and otes, good and thick doe not spare;
giue land leaue her sede or her wede for to bare."

A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie, edit. 1557, reprinted 1810, No. 70, 71. (See also note (1) above.)

(4). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Eostur-monath* (Bede, Edit. 1688, folio *De temporum Ratione*. This edition contains a number of spurious works of Bede, which however are valuable in connection with this subject as indicative of the customs and traditions of the periods to which they belong). *Eostur-monath* was believed to be so called after the Anglo-Saxon goddess *Eostre*, whose festival was celebrated in April, and was supplanted by the Christian Easter, as the Pagan Yule was supplanted by Christmas, and the ancient Lupercalia by Candlemas. On the latter, see Baronius, *Martyrolog. Roman.* edit. 1630, p. 73, and Olaus Magnus, *op. cit.* xvi. 6.

(5). "Awe bleteth after lomb." In England, as a rule, the lambs are pretty well grown in May. In the south the lambing season begins as early as December; in hilly and colder climates, where the grass is later, the season may be as late as May. Tusser (Edit. 1519) discourses on lambing under March, and we hail the bleating of young lambs in the Midland Counties as one of the earliest sounds of spring.

(6). It is probable that there is some mistake here. (See note 8.) For although it is said by Vincent of Beauv. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 110,—"Nunc primo hordei messis incipitur. . . . Nunc etiam mense postremo

locis maritimis et calidioribus ac siccis, tritici messis absciditur." Yet August was the great harvest-month in England, to which country the execution of this MS. belongs. Compare the Anglo-Saxon name for the month of August—*Arn-monat* (Verstegan, *Rest. Decayed Intell.* p. 67), and the old German—*Oostmonat*, or harvest-month; and the following line, probably extracted from some old calendar,

"Augustus metit, et fruges in horrea mittit,"

in the pseudo-writing of Bede, *De Embolismo*, Cologne edition of 1688. The horn to summon and cheer the reapers is mentioned as late as Tusser (edit. 1519), under August. Temp. Rich. II. (1377-1399), in the Manor of Dorking, "the harvest lasted five weeks, communibus annis" (Archæologia, xviii. 284). But now the ancient sickles and scythes are almost entirely replaced by reaping machines, which work much more quickly. Not, however, that these implements were unknown in the middle ages, a description of them occurring both in Palladius, Pliny, and Vincent of Beauvais. The words of Pliny are (Holland's transl. xviii. 30), "In Fraunce where the fields be large, they use to set a jade or an asse unto the taile of a mightie great wheelebarrow or cart made in manner of a van, and the same set with keene and trenchant teeth sticking out on both sides; now is this carte driven forward before the said beast upon two wheeles, into the standing ripe corne (contrarie to the manner of other carts that are drawne after); the said teeth or sharpe tines fastened to the sides of the wheelebarrow or car aforesaid, catch hold of the corne eares, and cut them off: yet so as they fall presently into the body of the wheelebarrow." The instrument described by Vincent of Beauvais is even still more elaborate (*Spec. Doct.* vi. 110). With it, he says, "brevi horarum spatio, tota messis impletur." They fell out of use, and were entirely forgotten, probably, like many of the old surgical instruments, not from any lack of ingenuity or inadequacy in their conception, but from the lack of means at that time to construct with sufficient accuracy and refinement.

(7). "Silvestres agri utiliter extirpabuntur arboribus atque virgultis cum luna decrescit, desectis radicibus atque combustis (*Idem*, cap. 114). When trees were cut for grafting, or taken up for transplanting, it was done with the waxing moon, that they might be haled on in their growth by the growing moon.

(8). It is probable that there is some mistake here (See note 6), and that this subject belongs either to the month of June or July; haymaking naturally preceding harvest. In the Cott. MS. Julius A. vi. of the same date, with very similar designs, and also of English execution, the subjects are arranged as follows:—Cutting timber, for June; mowing grass, for July; reaping corn, for August. (See Table I.) For haymaking in July see note 21.

(9). The old seal of the Mayor of Grimsby represents a boar hunt; and it seems that in former times this was the prevalent and favourite amusement of the townsmen. The lord of the adjacent manor of Bradley was obliged by his tenure to keep a supply of these animals in his wood for the entertainment of the mayor and burgesses; and the opening of the season was officially proclaimed, annually, on as early a day as convenient after the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8 Sept.) Hampson, *Mædii Ævi Kalendarium*, i. 96. The sport was then continued, when the weather was favourable, through the winter months. At Queen's College, Oxford, the boar's head was anciently the first dish placed upon the table on Christmas day, accompanied by the well-known carol, which is still sung. The sport is also specially attributed to winter by Olaus Magnus, *op. cit.* xviii. 26., where also is an interesting woodcut of a hunt, with hound and horn. For an engraving of the Savernake "Tenure Horn," mounted with silver gilt, in compartments filled alternately with a hound and some kind of game, a stag, hind, unicorn, fox, hare, &c., and with figures of a forester blowing a horn, a king, and a bishop, see *Archæologia*, iii. 24. From an early period

this instrument was employed for calling not only hounds, but other domesticated animals. Thus Columella (lib. vi. cap. 23)—"Id semper crepusculo fieri debet, ut ad sonum buccinæ pecus, si quod in sylva substiterit, septa repetere consuescat." (See also note 25.)

(10). "Octobri offertur venatio, vina, volucres."
Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 124.

For a beautifully embroidered hawking-pouch, lure, and glove, c. 1600, belonging to the Lady North, see engravings in *Arch. Journ.* x. 86. The first and last are embroidered with the mistletoe and blackberry in fruit, appropriate to the autumnal season.

(11). Indicative of the approaching season—

"When icicles hang by the wall,
"And Dick the shepherd blows his nail,
"And Tom bears logs into the hall,
"And milk comes frozen home in pail."

"Bryng in fyre on Alhalawgh day,
"To Candulmas even, I dar welle say."
Boke of Curtasye, 393-4.

Tusser advises that store of winter wood shall be got home in October, but all through the winter months wood-cutting is a characteristic employment. And the winter fire had an importance to our forefathers, even greater than it has for us; their season being far more severe than ours, and their means of defending themselves against it far less adequate. The blazing fire and heap of wood answered to the howling winds, driving snows and sleets, storms of rain, and dark long dismal nights, of those inclement and protracted winters. (See notes 27 and 90.)

(12). This is the most natural time for thrashing wheat, all out-door work being at a standstill. "Messis alibi tribulis in area, alibi equorum gressibus exteritur, alibi vero perticis flagellatur." (Vinc. Bellovac. *Spec. Nat.* xi. 43.) "Spicæ .... possunt .... deinde per hiemem vel baculis excuti," &c. (Columella, *op. cit.* ii. xxi.) "Collecta messe diversarum frugum in amplissimis horreis, ad hoc specialiter fabricatis, aptiorem trituram omnem usque in profundam hyemem, quando longiores sunt noctes, reservant." (Olaus Mag. *De Gent. Septent.* xiii. 7.) See also his curious woodcut of three men thrashing with flails, at night, by the light of burning pitch. Tusser attributes this occupation to November (edit. 1610):—

"November take flaile
"Let skep no more faile."

And, edit. 1557, in his "*Sonet or brief rehersall*, &c.

"Dirtie November, bid threshe at thine ease."

But to December also;—

"Abrode for the raine when thou canst do no good;
"then go let thy flayles, as the threshers were wood," &c. No. 36.

The sending round of "creed wheat" at Christmas, is probably a remnant of the winter thrashings, a much more formidable business then than now. In some of the Northern nations the last sheaf from the

harvest field was never threshed, but carefully reserved till Christmas Eve, and then brought out and fastened to a pole, set up in front of the dwellings, for the little birds of every kind to feast upon on Christmas morning. (See note 53). In reference to the notched stick, compare the following passage from Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Doct.* xi. 102. "Tesseræ sunt quibus frumentorum numerus designatur;" and the following:—

"Þerfore on his ȝerde skore shalle he
"Alle messys in halle þat seruet be."
Boke of Curtasye, 407-8.

(13). These taken together form the following mnemonic verses, which are contained in at least one MS. of the fifteenth century known to the writer, and in others possibly of earlier date:—

"Poto, ligna cremo, de vite superflua demo:
"Do germen gratum, mihi flos servit, mihi pratum:
"Spicas declino, messes meto, vina propino:
"Semen humi jacto, mihi pasco sues, mihi macto."

Compare with the following, from an early copy of the Sarum Missal:—

"Pocula Janus amat, et Februus algeo clamat;
"Martius de vite superflua demit; Aprilis florida prodit:
"Frons et flos nemorum Maio sunt fomes amorum.
"Dat Junius fœna; Julio resecatur avena;
"Augustus spicas; September colligit uvas.
"Seminat October; spoliat virgulta November;
"Querit amare cibum porcum mactando December."

(14). It must be remarked that any research into the origin of the signs of the Zodiac, tempting as the subject is, is entirely beside our present purpose. The Mediæval Encyclopædists, Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.* xv. 35), and Durandus (*Rat. Div. Off.* viii. 3), are the authorities to whom we must turn for the ideas respecting the subject as received and embodied by mediæval artists. The latter passage, alluded to by Durandus himself in connection with representations of the months of the year, translated, is as follows:—

"The first sign Aries, in which the sun is about the beginning of spring, is so called because as the Ram is an animal weak behind but strong before, so at that season the first days of the sun are weak because of the cold diminishing his strength, and the last which approach the summer somewhat stronger in heat; or, as in winter the ram lies on his left side but in spring begins to lie upon his right, so the sun before that season remains on the left-hand side of the heavens, namely the meridian, but after enters the right side towards the south. The ancients on account of love called this sign Jupiter, on whose head those who make images place the horns of the ram. The second sign is Taurus, so called because as the bull is stronger than the ram, so the sun has more power now than before; and as the bull is stronger before than behind, so the sun is stronger as he goes forward than in his previous course. The ancients placed the bull amongst the stars in honour of Jupiter, because he is fabulously feigned to have been changed into a bull when he carried off Europa. The third is called Gemini, because at that time the power of the sun becomes two-fold, beginning to be both hot and dry in its effect, or because then especially things germinate and multiply, birds and animals then bringing forth their young; or on account of the twin or two

degrees by which the sun is elevated from the earth more in that sign than in any other. And the ancients called this sign Gemini on account of Castor and Pollux, whom after death they placed among the most famous constellations. The fourth, Cancer, is so called because the crab is an animal that walks backward, and the sun then goes backward, receding from us after having previously approached us. The fifth, Leo, is so called because the lion is a cruel animal and always in a fever; so also this is a cruel and fever-breeding season. Again, because Hercules killed a very strong lion in Greece, for his valour they placed it among the twelve signs. The sixth, Virgo, because as a virgin brings forth nothing, so is this season barren and brings forth nothing new; and yet it causes things that are produced to come to maturity, for this is the time of the dog-days. The seventh, Libra, is so called from the equality of the month, because, when the sun is there, day and night are weighed out equally, for the autumnal equinox is then. The eighth is Scorpio; for as the scorpion is venomous and stings, so also that season produces much disease by reason of the inequality of the air, for in the morning there is stinging cold and at noon-day burning heat. The ninth, Sagittarius, is so called because the hunting which archers practise comes off for the most part at that time; or on account of the thunderbolts which often fall then, and which the Italians call arrows. The tenth, Capricorn; for as the he-goat feeds among rugged mountains or lofty precipices, so the sun is then lowest upon the meridian; or as the he-goat is accustomed to climb mountains, so the sun then begins to ascend towards us. Again, the ancients placed the figure of Capricorn amongst the stars on account of the goat which nourished Jupiter; and they made the hind-quarters in the form of a fish, to designate the rains which the same month usually has in its latter days. The eleventh is Aquarius, so called because that season abounds in winds and waters. The twelfth is Pisces, because as the fish is an animal of the waters, so also that season is watery by reason of many showers; or because then, the waters being thawed, is the time for fishing."

(15). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Giuli* (Bede, *De Temp. Rat.*) or *Giuli efterra*, after Yule, *i.e.*, the great Anglo-Saxon feast which began the year, answering to the feast of Christmas. After the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, the feast was retained, but the name of the month changed from *Giuli* to *Heligh-monat*, or Holy Month (Verstegan, *op. cit.* 68), though the word Yule has survived to this day, like Easter (see note 4).

(16). "As touching the falling and cutting downe of trees, to serve either in temples or for other uses, round and entire as they grow, without any squaring; as also for to bark them; the only time and season is, when the sap runneth, and that they begin to bud forth: otherwise you shall never be able to get off their barke. . . . . As for the other timber that is squared with the axe, and by that meanes rid from the barke, it would be fallen or cut downe betweene mid-winter and the time that the wind Favonius bloweth." (Pliny, *op. cit.* xvi. 39.) One can almost hear the resounding axe of the woodman in the frosty air, see the bright golden-coloured chips and piles of brown shells of bark upon the ground, and smell the fresh sylvan odour of the scattered boughs. Pine, elm, ash, cypress, fir, poplar; all these are best felled for timber in winter. (Palladius, *De re rustica*, Nov. xv. i.; Dec. i. i.; Jan. xxii.)

(17). Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Doct.* vi. 80) explains that the pruning of vines must be done in cold climates in March instead of February. "Martius hic falcem retinens vult cedere vitem." (Calendar in Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 194.) See also note 2 above.

(18): "Quo plantæ germen reddunt, animantia prolem." Bede, *edit. cit.* *De variis computus regulis.*

(19). Not improbably a Christian form of the Roman Terminalia. "Horum vice Angli, ex vetustissima consuetudine parochiarum terminos lustrant: hodie *Processiones* et *Rogationes* appellantur." (Hoffmann, *Lexicon Universale*, edit. 1698, in *Terminalia*.) Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Holy Thursday, "The relics of the Saints were taken out of church, and carried with the solemn procession which the clergy and people made all round the streets of a town, and the fields of a country parish." (Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, iii. 359.) The custom was established as early as the time of S. Cuthbert, and is alluded to in the account of his death by Bede. ". . . . tertia feria autem Ascensionem Domini . . . . ambulavimus cum reliquiis sanctorum, ut consuetudo illius diei poscebat" (Bedæ *Hist. Ecclesiast. Introd.* edit. Stevenson, p. xvii); and the ritual defined by the Council of Cloveshoe, A.D. 747. (Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 97.) Supplications were offered, principally on behalf of the fruits of the earth, and the rights and properties of the parish. Sometimes crosses, elsewhere trees, formed the boundaries; the latter called "gospel trees," because the gospel for the day was read under or near them. (Fosbroke, *Encyc. Antiq.* ii. 500.)

(20). Vincent of Beauvais, quoting Palladius, says—"Oves in calidis mense Aprili oportet tonderi;" but adds,—"Porro in locis temperatis mense Maio ovium tonsio est celebranda." (*Spec. Nat.* xviii. 75.) In still colder climates the shearing would be even later. Thus Tusser, writing for England, says:—

"In June washe thy shepe, where the water doth runne:
* * * *
"Then share them and spare not, at two daies anende."

Op. cit. No. 81.

The following tokens are laid down by Dyer, in his Fleece (Book i.), to mark the proper time in each climate:—

"If verdant elder spreads
"Her silver flowers; if humble daisies yield
"To yellow crowfoot and luxuriant grass,
"Gay shearing-time approaches."

(21). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month, *Heymonat* (Verstegan, *ubi supra*), and old German *Hooy-monat*, or hay-month. "Julius ergo secat gramen fœnumque reservat." (Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 202.) This occupation is also attributed to the month by Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, vii. 36.

"Then came hot July boyling like to fire,
"That all his garments he had cast away.
* * * *
"Behinde his back a sithe, and by his side
"Under his belt he bore a sickle circling wide."

According to Pliny, "The ordinarie season to mow meddowes is about the Calends or beginning of Iune." (*op. cit.* xviii. 28.) And Tusser (*op. cit.* 86, 87) appropriates it to the same month:—

"At midsommer downe with thy brimbles and brakes:
"and after abrode, with thy forkes and thy rakes.
"Set mowers a worke, while the meddowes be growne,
"the lenger they stande, so much worse to be mowne.

"Prouide of thine owne, to have all thing at hande ;
"els worke and the workman shall oftentimes stande.
"Love seldome to borow, that thinkest to save ;
"who lendest the one, will loke two thinges to have."

Haymaking in July is, however, also spoken of (90, 91). And Olaus Magnus says—"Medio Julii fœnum, tandemque in Augusti medio messem collecturi Septentrionales agricolæ."

(22). Said by Nigidius and others to be Ceres, "eo quod spicas teneat" (Hoffmann, *Lex. Univ.* in *Virgo*); or Demeter, the mother of the maid Persephone, through whose return from wintry sojourn in the under-world spring awakens, the air is filled with summer fragrance, and the autumnal corn-fields wave with ripening grain. (Cox, *Ar. Myth.* ii. viii. 2.) The brightest star in the constellation is still called *Spica Virginis*, the ear of corn in the virgin's hand. In Spenser (*op. cit.* vii. 37), August

"led a lovely mayd
"Forth by the lilly hand, the which was cround
"With eares of corne, and full her hand was found."

And Shakespeare (*Tempest*, iv. i.) represents Ceres bearing

"Wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, and pease."

(23). "Exactis jam messibus ... prima silvestria, nec minus genera pirorum et malorum condiuntur." (Columella, *De re rust.* xii. x. 1, 2.)

"Poma dat et gratos September ab arbore fructus."
Bede, *edit. cit.* p. 223.

"The mone in the wane gather fruit on the tree."
Tusser, *op. cit.* 26. (See also note 7.)

"September his fruit biddeth gather as fast."
Idem. *A sonet or brief rehersall.*

There is a very charming love-scene connected with the autumnal apple-gathering in Longus (*Pastoralia* iii. 26, 27).

(24). The harvest ended, and food thus brought out of the earth, next comes the vintage and wine that maketh glad the heart of man. Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Wyn-monat* (Verstegan, *ubi supra*), and the old German—*Wyn-monat*, or wine month. "Spumanti musto pomisque Octimber onustis." (Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 209). "Mense Octobri optima est vindemia." (Palladius, lib. ii., and Vinc. Bellovac. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 125.) For full details respecting the ancient vintage and method of making wine, see Pliny, *op. cit.* xiv. *passim*, and xviii. 31 ; also Vinc. Bellovac. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 125-7 ; and on the hooped wooden barrels used in cold climates, Pliny, lib. xiv. 21. The processes are pleasingly alluded to, incidentally, by Longus, *Pastoralia*, lib. ii. cap. i. § 26.

(25). "Glans quercina diffusam atque gravissimam facit suem." (Vinc. Bellovac. *Spec. Nat.* xii. 91.) "Delectatur autem in comedendo glandes, quæ reddunt humidas ejus carnes." (Id. xviii. 79, *De Porcorum cibo.* See also Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 519, 20).

"Venit hyems . . . .
"Glande sues læti redeunt."

And Olaus Magnus (*De Gent. Septent.* xii. 6): "Fagorum nuces . . . quarum esu, sicut glandium, mire impinguuntur porci." The seal of Evesham Abbey has a representation, on the obverse, of Eove, the swain or countryman who first gave name to the place, standing in a wood, with his porcine herd near him. He carries a long staff, such as was probably used for the purpose of beating down acorns and beech-mast. (*Archæologia*, xix. 66, and plate v.) The 96th capital from the entrance of the Chapter House of York Minster has finely sculptured upon it a branch of oak, bearing leaves and acorns, with squirrels feeding upon it above and swine below. (Brown, *York Minster*, plate lxxxvi.) The custom was, from a very early period, in autumn, for the tenants of manors to send their swine into the lord's forests, either as a privilege incident to their holdings, or on some small payment. The forest laws were arbitrarily exercised even in the royal forests prior to the *Charta Forestæ*, 9 Hen. III., confirmed 28 Edw. I. This protects from seizure in the royal forests any pig except within sight and on the view of the rangers of the forest, and permits swine to be driven through the forests on their way elsewhere, and to pass a night therein if necessary and to feed without impediment. Hameline and John, Earls of Warren, at an early period regulated the admission of swine *in nemore nostro de Wakefeld*, and many charters of a similar character, doubtless, are in existence. It was not only upon the ground that the acorns were eaten; they were also gathered for home consumption. Thus, Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Doct.* vi. 148., says, "Hoc tempore (Novembri) glandes legendæ ac servandæ cura nos excitet; quod opus fœmeneis ac puerilibus operis celebrabitur facile, more baccarum." Brown (*York Minster*, pl. xcvii., cviii.) gives two engravings of key-blocks on which the oak and its fruit are finely sculptured, with men gathering the latter in conical bags hung from the neck. Tusser speaks of this as a work for September:—

"At Mihelmas mast would be loked vpon,
"and lay to get some or the mast time be gon:
"It saueth thy corne well, it fatteth thy swyne:
"in frost it doth helpe them, where els they should pine."

Op. cit. 24.

And in the *Sonet or brief rehersall*,

"October bid hogges to come eate vp his mast."

Acorns are still knocked down for pigs and eaten by them in the Sussex lanes, and gathered by women and children in bags suspended from their necks for swine at home; and a fine description of the mast season in the New Forest at the close of the last century is given by Gilpin (*Forest Scenery*, ii. 112). The season began about the end of September, and lasted six weeks. The herd contained five or six hundred swine, which were fed, partly on mast and acorns gathered for them, partly on what they themselves were able to pick up. They wandered daily two or three miles from their sty, and returned in the evening with full bellies at the sound of the swineherd's horn, which they learned to follow. It was on account of the plentifulness of provisions in autumn, that sows were made to litter at that time. "Deteriores sunt (porcæ filii) qui (nascuntur) in æstate, parvi, et macri, et humidi." (Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Nat.* xviii. 83, quoting Aristotle.) "Tunc parit, cum pabulo abundat terra." (Varro, ii. iv. 6.) The horn is used to this day to call the swine in the forests of Germany, and that it was the instrument by which the swineherd called his herd in the middle ages, is clear from various sources. Mr. Peacock informs me that the Louth Churchwardens' Accounts contain several memoranda similar to the following:—"for on horn to ye swynerd viij d." under the year 1570. But no more interesting memorial has come down to us than the figure of "The Swineherd of Stow," which formerly stood upon the north turret of the west front of

Lincoln Minster, in commemoration of his contributing munificently to the work, A.D. 1209-1235. From the top of the pinnacle he was represented blowing his horn lustily. But in the late disastrous "Restoration," which in so many respects rendered the Minster for ever hereafter useless for scientific study, this precious relic was taken down to make way for a wretched "fac-simile." The original is engraved in Murray's *Handbook of the Cathedrals of England*, under Lincoln. (See note 9.)

(26). "Sues læti" no longer, the swine, fat with acorns, must be killed.

> "Let hog once fat,
> Loose nothing of that.
> When mast is gon,
> Hog falleth anon."
>
> Tusser, *op. cit.* edit. 1519.

Pork was the favourite winter food of the middle ages. "Caro . . . levior est carnibus domesticis, fortis ac plurimi nutrimenti est, et velocis digestionis, et est melior quam potest esse in hyeme." (Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Nat.* xviii. 82.) The mode of slaughter, here represented, was probably that most generally adopted in the middle ages, the animal being then left to bleed to death. Hence Chaucer's allusion—"Thou fallist as it were a stiked swyn." (*Pardoner's Tale*, line 94.) The modern custom of lifting the pig on to "a cratch," before killing it, was not generally necessary, since then swine were not immoderately fatted, as now, and could readily be lifted on to the cratch after they were dead for the purpose of scalding and dressing them. On a miserere at Bristol Cathedral, however, there is a representation of a large sow upon a cratch alive. One man is holding it fast by its front legs, the snout being secured to a leg of the cratch by a cord; while another, behind, holding the animal's buttocks with his left hand, advances with a sharply-pointed knife in his right. The mode of killing by decapitation, sometimes represented, can scarcely have been general, or the plan of stunning the animal by a blow upon the head before sticking it. The latter device appears to have been introduced into England by the German pork-butchers, and is barbarous and improper.

(27). "Cold February." *Faerie Queene*, vii. 43. This is one of the most frequent of any of the modes of symbolizing the month, and suggests the inhospitableness of the winters of former times, just as in poetry the same idea is suggested, as has been remarked, by the enthusiastic delight in spring which is found so strikingly in Chaucer and in some of our older ballads, as contrasted with the more chastened and refined allusions of modern times. (See notes 11 and 90.)

(28). The grafting of various trees and dressing of such vines as (on account of the coldness of the climate,) have not been done in March, is a work of this month. (Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 102.) See also note 2 above.

(29). The weeding implements are not so clear in this example as in some others below; but there can be no doubt as to what is intended. A staff, terminating in a small fork, with which the weeds were pressed down and fixed, was held in one hand, and another staff of equal length, terminating in a small sickle-shaped hook, with which they were cut off close to the ground, was held in the other. The latter appears to have been, or to have closely resembled, the implement described by Vinc. Bellov. *De instrumentis rusticis. Spec. Doct.* xi. 104. "*Falcastrum*, a similitudine falcis vocatum: est autem ferramentum curvum cum manubrio longo, ad densitatem veprium succidendam. Hi et runcones dicti, quibus vepres secantur, à runcando dicti." Palladius (lib. i. *sub fin.*) speaks of "*Falciculæ*, ... quibus filicem solemus abscindere; and also of *Runcones*. Besides the hoeing of corn in the blade, grain crops are to be weeded, he says, just

before or after the time of flowering, either by hand or by means of a *Runcus*. (See also Pliny, xvii. 21.) Tusser (edit. 1599, xl. 10) evidently refers to the same implement under the name of a "Weedhooke."

"In May get a weedhooke, a crotch and a glove."

In the edition of 1557 (79-80), we have—

"In June get thy wedehoke, thy knife and thy glove :
"and wede out such wede as the corn doth not love.
"Slack no time thy weding, for darth nor for cheape :
"thy corn shall reward it, or ever thou reape.
"The maywede doth burne, and the thistle doth freate :
"the tine pulleth downe, both the rie and the wheate.
"The dock and the brake noieth corne very much :
"but bodle for barley, no weede there is such."

It was on account of the weeds which grow so freely in this month that, according to Bede (*De temp. rat.*) it was called by the Anglo-Saxons—*Weyd-monath*, or, "Mensis zizaniorum, quod ea tempestate maxime abundant." Whether this interpretation is correct or not it is valuable as being the earliest with which we are acquainted, and the one which, probably, was generally received subsequently. See also note 87.

(30). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name for the month—*Gerst-monat* (Verstegan, *op. cit.* p. 67), or barley-month, because this was the month for brewing beer, and hence the corn must needs be thrashed for this purpose. And again, under August, Tusser (Edit. 1599, 34), recommends that such corn shall now be thrashed as is necessary for the autumnal seed-sowing.

"Threshe sede and goe fanne, for the plough may not lie,
September doth bid to be sowing of rye," &c. No. 20.

As winter was a season of great hardship (see notes 11, 27, and 90), that in which the "newe corn cam to chepyng" (Piers Ploughman, ed. Wright, i. 135-6) was one of joy and plenty.

(31). That vineyards were common in England during the Middle Ages is well known. They are mentioned no fewer than thirty-eight times in Domesday Book, and appear to have been attached to most of the larger monasteries (*Archæologia*, i. 319). The accounts of the keeper of the vineyard at Windsor Castle in the reign of Edward III., detail every operation of the vintage, from planting, grafting, and manuring, till the fruit was pressed, casks made or repaired, and the wine barrelled. (*Archæol. Journ.* v. 299.) In countries too cold, however, for the vine to flourish to perfection, large quantities of home-made wine were also manufactured, hydromel, mulse or mede, &c. (Olaus Mag. *op. cit.* xiii. 19-25.) Also cider, perry, ale, and beer. (See also note 24 above.)

(32). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Blod-monath* (Bede, De *Temp. Rat.* cap. xv.) or blood-month, and the old German—*Slagt-monat*, or slaughter-month. "Mensis immolationum, quia in eo pecora quæ occisuri erant, Diis suis voverent." (Bede, *loc. cit.*) Though Christmas was formerly, as now, the principal season for "pig-cheer," yet, as Vincent of Beauvais remarks—"Pernas etiam et lardum conficimus, non solum mense hoc (Decembri), sed omnibus quos hyemalis algor astringit." (*Spec. Doct.* vi. 149). (See also note 26.)

(33). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Giuli* (Bede, De temp. rat. cap. xv.) or *erra-Geola*,

before-Yule, and see note 15 above. It will be observed that, in this series, the year both begins and ends with feasting:—

" Mensis amat tepido Jani decurrere victu,
Et refici grato sæpe liquore jubet."

Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 215.

" Juxta mense focum calidis utare Decembri."

Idem. p. 226.

" Torpentes invitat hyems genialis ad ignem,
Otia, luxuriem, potumque, cibumque suadens."

Idem. *De celebritate quat. temp.*

Four lines of Chaucer, likewise, are recalled, by four of the compartments of this font :—

" Janus sit by the fuyr with double berd,
" And drynketh of his bugle horn the wyn ;
" Biforn him stont the braun of tuskid swyn,
" And *nowel* crieth every lusty man."

Frankeleyne's Tale, 516-20.

The two first lines answer respectively to the second and first compartment; the "tosked swine" is being killed in the eleventh ; and "*nowel* crieth every lusty man" of the twelfth.

(34.) *Eboracum*, facing p. 308. The plate, though poor in execution, is of great value as showing the sculptures more than 130 years ago, when many features, now indistinct, appear to have been discernible. To apply the elegant lines upon the title-page, true then, but truer now :

" Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formam servat eandem,
" Sed tamen ipsa eadem est."

(35). See Bede, *De Temp. Rat.* cap. xiii., xliii. ; and cap. xv., as follows :—" Cum vero Embolismus, hoc est, xiii. mensium lunarium annus occurreret, superfluum mensem æstati apponebant, ita ut tunc tres menses simul Lida nomine vocarentur, et ob id annus ille Thri-lidi cognominabatur, habens iv. menses æstatis, ternos ut semper temporum cæterorum."

(36). " The dissolved hospital of St. *Nicolas extra muros*."

(37). Janus, with, probably, the name of the month of which he is here the symbol. The god presided over the beginnings of all things, and had many attributes—most of them, however, connected with the idea of opening and shutting, derived apparently from the alternation of day and night occasioned by the sun, who in the earliest ages of ancient Rome was worshipped in the attributes of this god. Thus, Janus is said to be the guardian of the universe :—

" Quidquid ubique vides, cœlum, mare, nubila, terras;
" Omnia sunt nostra clausa patentque manu.
" Me penes est unum vasti custodia mundi:
" Et jus vertendi cardinis omne meum est."

Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 117-21.

But, in a more special sense, the idea of change being here still more prominent, he presided over the four seasons, and hence in some instances is represented with four heads, looking out at right angles with one

another (*Janus quadrifrons*); particularly over winter, because it was in that that the old year went out and the new began change again. Thus,

> " Bruma novi prima est, veterisque novissima solis,
> " Principium capiunt Phœbus et annus idem."
>
> *Ibidem*, 163-4.

And hence the representations of the god with two heads (*Janus bifrons*), the one looking back upon the past, the other forward into the future; the one back upon the old year, the other forward into the new; and the apportionment of the first month of the year to the god, and the derivation of its name from him.

> " Jane biceps, anni tacite labentis origo."
>
> *Ibidem*, 65.

It is obvious that the derivation of the name of the month from *Janua* is secondary to this idea. Both are referred to in the Cologne edition of Bede, in treatises known to be spurious, but which, being productions of the same mediæval spirit which conceived the works of art we are considering, are, as we have already had occasion to remark, almost as valuable for our purpose as if they were genuine. Thus, it is said, " Januarium a Jano nuncupavit (Numa Pompilius), primumque anni esse voluit, tanquam bicipitis Dei mensem; respiciente ac prospiciente transacti finem, futurique principia. Quidam autumant, eum inde vocatum, quod limes et Janua sit anni." *Comp. Vulg. qui dicitur Ephem. Bede, edit. cit.* i. 190. And again,

> " Est mensis primus, vel Jani nomine dictus,
> " Olim gentili qui more Deus fuit anni,
> " Vel quod janua sit, per quam venit et exit,
> " Ex ipso frontem nunc appellamus eundem."
>
> *Versus de variis computus regulis*, in same.

See also Spenser, Sonnet iv. edit. 1869:—

> " New yeare, forth looking out of Janus gate,
> " Doth seem to promise hope of new delight:
> " And, bidding th' old Adiew, his passed date
> " Bids all old thoughts to die in dumpish spright."

(38). See note 17, above; and compare the lateness of the vintage on the Deepdale font.

(39). Probably, as appears to be intended in Drake's engraving, a flower, indicative of opening spring. (Compare the Latin *Aprilis*, *Aperire*.) Thus " Fresh Aprill," in Spenser, was

> " Garnished with garlonds goodly dight
> " Of all the fairest flowres and freshest buds
> " Which th' earth brings forth."
>
> *Faerie Queene*, vii. vii. 33.

The flower held in the hand, here and elsewhere, reminds us of the rose given to the statue of Venus after the April washings (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 124-131), and of some of the antique representations. (See Table III. and note 51.)

(40). *Henmonath*, similar to the German *Hainmonat*, or leafy month, is said (Sayers, *Disquisitions*, p. 255) to have been one of the Anglo-Saxon names for July. But this name is as applicable in our

climate to June as to July, and one at least of our poets (Coleridge, *Ancient Mariner*, part v.) speaks of the former as "The leafy month of June;" the leaves being then fully unfolded, and not yet touched by the decay of autumn. (See note 90.) Leaves were constantly employed as food for cattle in the middle ages. Their use is systematically spoken of by the *Scriptores rei rusticæ*. "Bobus frondem ulmeam, populneam, querneam, ficulneam, usquedum habetis, dato. Ovibus frondem viridem, usquedum habetis, præbeto. Ubi sementim facturus eris, ibi oves delectato, et frondem usque ad pabula natura dato. Pabulum aridum quod condideris in hieme, quam maxime conservato, cogitato hiems quam longa fiet." (Cato, xxx. See also caps. v. and liv.) Columella writes to the same effect (xi. ii. 55, 83, and 99-101.) From the middle of May (Id. 48), "usque in ultimum Autumnum frondem cæsam præbebimus," though the newly-opened leaf was of course the best, either to gather green or to dry and preserve.

(41). On the passing of the sun through the solstice, supposed to be about the centre of the arch, the relative position of the signs and of the symbols of the month becomes reversed.

(42). In common years, this would be the occupation of the latter end of June or beginning of July. (See note 21.)

(43). "Hoc mense locis tepidis maritimisque celebranda vindemia est." Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 124.

"Sidere virgo tuo Bacchum September opimat,
"September lectos terit hic cum fuste corymbos."

Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 206, probably taken from some old calendar.

The 97th capital from the entrance of the Chapter House, at York, has exquisite vine branches sculptured upon it, richly laden with leaves and fruit, and two men are represented cutting the latter with curved knives set in straight wooden handles. Brown, *York Minster*, p. 106, and Pl. lxxxvi. (See also note 24.)

(44). In another instance this occupation is attributed to November. (See note 27.) October was, however, the more general month for fattening pigs, in order that they might be killed in November (see note 26); as indicated in the following lines:

"October good blast
"To blow the hog mast."

Tusser, *op. cit.* edit. 1610.

(45). The edge of the axe is turned backwards, so that, in falling on the animal, the axe would strike not with the edge but with the back of the blade; and this is the same in the medallion of painted glass, at Dewsbury, described further on. I am convinced, however, that this arises in both instances, not from the deliberate intention of the artist, but from mere convenience in the arrangement of the subject. The early mediæval designers of medallions, whether in stone or glass, habitually made great sacrifices in order to leave as little of the surface as possible unoccupied, and to fill up the field as evenly as possible: in this respect resembling the designers of antique cameos. "Hence the forced attitudes and violent exertions expressed by the figures of men or of beasts, which were purposely chosen by the artist in order to accommodate the flexure of the bodies to the elliptical form of the surface upon which he was engaged." King, *Antique Gems*, p. 166. At St. Ursin, *post*, the cutting edge of the axe falls on the animal's neck.

(46). The doorway to the south aisle of this church has at some period (perhaps in the last century) been

rebuilt, and as a good many new stones have been added, and some are evidently misplaced, it is now impossible to say what the original arrangement and sequence was, or even whether the doorway in the first instance occupied its present position. It is not, however, unlikely that it may have done so, protected by a porch, which now no longer exists. The sculptures are thus exposed nakedly to the weather, and are so rapidly cracking and crumbling that it may be worth while here to make a note of them before they are entirely lost.

Outer Arch.

1. A fox, lying on its back, and two birds pecking at it ; with the inscription—UVLPIS.
2. A quadruped walking after, and apparently calling to another smaller apparently winged animal, which is looking back, as if listening ; with the inscription—PANT[H]ЄRA.
3. An eagle, flying, with the inscription—A[QVI]LA.
4. An ox, with an inscription ending—ЄNA. (? whether LЄЄNA).
5. A man lying on his side on a couch ; an eagle pecking at his ear. Inscription obliterated, except the two last letters, which look like RA.
6. An ox, feeding at conventional herbage, on the ground.
7. Modern sandstone.
8. An animal, much defaced.
9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Modern.
15. A capricornus, or dragon, with the head of a quadruped, wings of a bird, and tail of a dragon. Inscription obliterated.
16. Two figures standing, each with the left hand raised and the right laid across the chest Something like flames behind, perhaps wings. Inscription—CЄROB[ЄI]ЄM.
17. Defaced.
18. Two heads, sailing in a ship, with the inscription—AFRICO (not quite sure of the last letter but one).
19. Defaced.

Inner Arch (medallions).

1. Lamb and cross (no banner).
2. A quadruped with the head of apparently a young one of the same kind in its mouth, devouring it.
3. A quadruped.
4. A quadruped devouring the branch of a tree.
5. A quadruped.
6. A man with his arm down an animal's throat, and something in his right hand.
7. Grotesque winged animal.
8, 9. Modern.
10. Defaced.
11. A pelican vulning herself, and child.
12. A quadruped.
13. An eagle.
14. A man holding a pig by the ear, and striking it with an axe.
15. A capricornus ; with the bearded and horned head of a goat, wings of a bird, and nowed tail of a dragon.

The tower arch and large font for immersion, in the interior, are evidently coeval ; and belong, probably, to the reign of Stephen.

(47). Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, ii. 271. But for valuable additional notes of this, and of the next six following examples, the writer is indebted to Mr. R. W. Twigg, of York. On the St. Mark's example, see also *Annales Archéologiques*, xiv. 165.

(48). " Numbd with holding all the day
" An hatchet keene, with which he felled wood."
Faerie Queene, vii. vii. 42.

See also notes 11 and 16.

(49). An adaptation of the heathen Mars, to whom the month was dedicated by the Romans.

" Signatusque tuo nomine mensis adest."
Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 862.

(50). Oves in locis calidis mense Aprili oportet tonderi. Palladius, lib. 5. quoted in Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Nat.* xviii. 75. The leafy branch is one of the most expressive tokens of Spring. See the Thorp Salvin font, and notes 19, 51, and 90.

(51). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Unnemonath*, and the old German—*Blomonat* or Flower-month. And Spenser, *op. cit.* vii. vii. 34:

" Then came faire May, the fayrest mayd on ground,
" Deckt all with dainties of her seasons pryde,
" And throwing flowres out of her lap around."

See also, Bede, *edit. cit. De Embolismo*, i. 219:

" Omnia jam florent, jam formosissimus annus,
" Jamque sibi cuncti mollius esse volunt."

Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 652-4 :

" May, with all thyn floures and thy greene,
" Welcome be thou, well faire freissche May !
" I hope that I som grene gete may."

And Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 427-438 :

" Valle sub umbrosa locus est, adspergine multa
" Uvidus ex alto desilientis aquæ.
" Tot fuerant illic, quot habet natura, colores ;
" Pictaque dissimili flore nitebat humus.
" Quam simul adspexit ; Comites, accedite, dixit ;
" Et mecum vestros flore replete sinus.
" Præda puellares animos prolectat inanis,
" Et non sentitur sedulitate labor.
" Hæc implet lento calathos e vimine textos,
" Hæc gremium, laxos degravat illa sinus ;
" Illa legit calthas, huic sunt violaria curæ,
" Illa papavereas subsecat ungue comas."

The ancient Floralia were probably the foundation of the mediæval May-day rejoicings. (See note 4) " They goe some to the woodes and groves, some to the hilles and mountaines, some to one place, some to

another, where they spende all the night in pastymes (compare *Mids. Night's Dream, passim*), and in the mornyng they returne, bringing with them birch bowes, and braunchis of trees to deck their assemblies withall." (Stubbs, *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1585, fo. 94, quoted by Brande, *Pop. Antiq.* i. 212.)

"furth goith all the courte bothe moste and leste,
"To feche the floures fressh, and braunche and blome;
"And namly hawthorn brought both page and grome,
"With fresshe garlantis partie blewe and white."
Chaucer, *Court of Love*, 1431–4.

But flowers, independently of their loveliness and beauty, were of importance for their medicinal virtues, and still more, before the introduction of cane sugar, as food for bees, being specially cultivated for that purpose. (Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 30–32, 109–148; Varro, III. xvi. 10, 13, 25, 26; Columella, ix. iv. and iv. 6.; Pallad. I. xxxvii. 1–3; Pliny, xxi, xxii; Tusser, *passim.*) Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.* xx. lxxxvii.) thus summarizes:—"Apum causa oportet serere thymum, rosam, violas, lilium, fabam, papaver, et hujusmodi, horum enim florum avidissimæ sunt." "Greene," as well as "floures," is attributed to May in the first passage from Chaucer, above, to indicate not merely the beauty, but the productiveness of the month. The pastures were then the greenest. The milk was then the richest. The Anglo-Saxons called the month *Tri-milchi*, "quod tribus vicibus in eo per diem pecora mulgebantur." (Bede, *Temp. Rat.* xv.) Then also—"tempore Maii butyrum Maicum .... butyrum formatum admodum quo villanæ tempore Maii vendere in foro solent." (*Malleus Malef.* Par. ii. quæst. i. cap. xiv.) On milk, as a symbol of the all-nourishing power of the earth, see Cox, *Ar. Myth.* ii. 305.

(52). Doubtless intended to represent the autumnal preparation of the ground, analogous to that of the field by ploughing. See note (1,) and Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Doct.* vi. 132. *De hortis eodem mense (Octobris) conserendis.*

(53). On the approach of winter, larks, fieldfares, sparrows, finches, thrushes, blackbirds, and such like small birds innumerable, pressed by cold and hunger, were caught partly for sport, partly for food. "Tempore hoc, per humiles sylvas, et baccis fœcunda virgulta, ad turdos, cæterasque aves capiendas, laqueos expedire convenit; hoc usque in Martium mensem tendetur aucupium." (Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 149, quoting from Palladius.) "Aucupium fit laqueis, pedicis, retibus, arcu, viseo, hamo." (Id. xi. 101.) Five different kinds of nets are described. The catching of cranes in winter is alluded to by Virgil (*Georg.* i. 307); and of various other birds, for food, by Longus (*Pastoralia*, iii. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7). In winter, when the snow was thickly fallen and all agricultural labours were interrupted, with cunningly contrived traps, or snares, or birdlime on long twigs, blackbirds, thrushes, doves, and such birds as fed upon the berries of the ivy, were caught by Daphnis in plenty; and having killed and plucked them, he is represented bringing them into the house where Chloe was sitting by the fire, and laying them on the table to be cooked. (See note 12, *sub fin.* and contrast.)

(54). The preceding subject and this appear to bear the relationship to one another of type and antetype. "As the birds that are caught in the snare, so are the sons of men snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon them." (Eccles. ix. 12.) "With her much fair speech she caused him to yield .... as a bird hasteth to the snare." (Prov. vii. 21, 23.) With which compare Plautus, *Asinar.* Act I. sc. 3, v. 68:

"Esca est meretrix, lectus illix, ast amator avis."

And Burton, *Anat. Mel.* Part 3, sec. 2, memb. 1, subsec. 2, speaking of the power of Love: "Jupiter

himself was turned into a satyr, shepherd, a bull, a swan, a golden shower, and what not, for love; that as Lucian's Juno right well objected to him, *ludus amoris tu es*, thou art Cupid's whirligig." The employment of classical subjects in medieval decoration is not uncommon. Thus, on the Runic whalebone casket in the British Museum, side by side with the Adoration of the Magi and beheading of John the Baptist, and on a diptych in the Vatican Museum, side by side with the Nativity and Crucifixion, we have representations of Romulus and Remus. On the archiepiscopal throne at Burgos, in company with subjects from the Old and New Testament, is a representation of Jupiter and Europa. On the shrine of the Magi at Cologne, with various religious subjects, are Leda, and Cupid and Psyche. In the latter case, however, it is believed that the subjects are genuine antiques, not designed originally for the situation they now occupy.

(55.) The first of the three subjects probably is the symbol of the month; the two latter suggest the sign, though neither of them is the sign as usually represented, and there is nothing beneath analogous.

(56). Elsewhere attributed to March (see note 3), but the occupation suitable to one month in one climate is the occupation of another in another, as we have had so frequently to notice. Spenser, F. Q. vii. vii. 43, attributes to February—

"Plough and harnesse fit to till the ground."

And the spade is to the garden what the plough is to the field. (See note 52.)

(57). Possibly Adam and Eve—the first pair. See compartment 6 of S. Margaret's porch, York.

(58). Hawking;—"mery at his ease (in the) swete ayre of the swete sauoure of the mede floures, that makyth him hungry"; or as Olaus Magnus at Eland, with its—"Prata, et campi odore herbifico, indicibili suavitate mirabundi." (*Gent. Septent.* ii. 22.) Hentzner (*Journey into Eng.* 303), writing as late as 1598, says of the English, "Hawking is the general sport of the gentry;" and Burton (*Anat. Mel.* Pt. 2, sec. 2, mem. 4),—"He is nobody that in the season hath not a hawk on his fist;" adding that the Persian kings were wont, in default of better game, to hawk after butterflies with sparrows, and stares, or starlings, trained for the purpose.

(59). Probably intended to represent some agricultural employment.

(60) The hammering, &c., of a barrel, here and elsewhere, has reference to the approaching vintage. Pliny specially cautions the husbandman against driving the repair of the barrels until the time of their being wanted, and says that they are to be done in the hot weather, that they may be ready when the vintage begins. Lib. xviii. 31. Longus (*Pastoralia*, ii. 1) refers to the repair of presses and cleansing of vessels before the commencement of the vintage. The timely repair and pitching of vessels, the sharpening of cutting hooks, the cleansing of cellars and presses, &c. is enlarged on more systematically by Columella (*op. cit.* xii. xviii.) and by Cato (*de re rustica*, cap. xxiii.) Columella again refers to the same (xi. ii. 71), when speaking of the September vintage. "Sed antequam fructum cogere incipiat, cuncta præparanda erunt superiore (si fieri possit mense . . . dolia . . . torcularia vero . . . præparataque ligna, &c." Compare also the advice of Virgil, that the instruments of husbandry be seen to and provided in the winter, to be ready for the spring:

"Omnia quæ multò ante memor provisa repones."
Georg. i. 167.

And Spenser's October :

" eeke by his side
" His ploughing-share and coulter ready tyde,"
F. Q. vii. vii. 39,

in preparation for November. Tusser also constantly insists on the same foresight :

" Thy servant in walking thy pastures aboute :
" for yokes, forkes and rakes, let him loke to finde oute.
" And after at leyser let this be his hier :
" to trimme them and make them at home by the fier."
No. 64.

" Thy cartes would be searched, withoute and within :
" well cloughted and greased, or hay time begin
* * *
" the cartes bottome borded, is sauing of corne."
No. 89.

" Thy houses and barnes would be loked vpon :
" and all thing amended, or haruest come on, &c.
No. 95.

It is obvious, further, that the best time for repairing the barrels is when their staves, in July for instance, are most shrunken by reason of the heat and drought ; so that when wet again they may be tight and sound.

(61). (?) Whether sowing corn.

" Seminat October, quod maturum metit."
Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 208.
" The rye in the ground while September doth last :
" October for wheate sowing, calleth as fast."

(62.) " Nunc tempus est ad instituendas vites." Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 149.

(63). (?) Whether there may not once have been a fire, as in the Deepdale February compartment ; a man warming himself being not an infrequent symbol for January. It will be remarked, throughout this series, that the occupations are early.

(64). This, again, is early for the vintage. The earliest period mentioned by Vincent of Beauvais is the latter end of of August . . " Nunc (Mense Augusto circa Calendas Septembris) quoque maritimis locis vindemiæ apparatus urgetur." *Spec. Doct.* vi. 116.

(65). This, also, in most climates would be early for killing pigs. Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Nat.* xviii. 72, says:—" Porcinæ carnes in æstate nocivæ sunt, ad comedendum usque ad æquinoctium autumnale, quia dormit porcus calido tempore plusquam competit naturæ," quoting Avicenna. (See notes 26 and 32.)

(66). Compare the old German name of the month—*Launmonat*, cold, or frosty-month.

(67). As characteristically the occupation of women as the various labours we have noticed are of men :

" When Adam delved, and Eve span,
" Who was then the gentleman ?"

"Go spin, you jade! Go spin!" was the most natural advice which occurred to the Earl of Pembroke to offer the Abbess of Wilton, when he usurped her convent and property. In England, the day after Twelfth Day, or very end of the Yule-tide feastings, was called *S. Distaff's Day*, and was a special holiday for spinsters:

"If the maides a spinning goe,
"Burne the flax and fire the tow;
" * * * *
"Give St. Distaff all the right,
"Then give Christmas-sport good night."

(Brand, *Pop. Antiq.* i. 32.) With this exception, the good housewife *Domum mansit—lanam fecit.* "She keepit close the hous, and birlit at the quhele." "Her candle goeth not out by night; she layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff." (Prov. xxxi. 18, 19.) Spinning is mentioned amongst winter occupations by Longus, *Pastoralia*, iii. 2. Compare also Thomson, *Seasons*, Winter, 133:

"E'en as the Matron, at her nightly task,
"With pensive labour draws the flaxen thread,
"The wasted taper and the crackling flame
"Foretel the blast."

And see Clogg Almanac, No. 1. above, *December*. See also note 12.

(68). "Julius hinc flavis humeros redimitus aristis."
Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 203.

This is the great work of the month in Tusser, *op. cit.* 95—100.

(69). "Direptis crura cothurnis." Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 8. The grapes were first trodden by the feet, and afterwards pressed. See Pliny, *op. cit.* xiv. *passim*, and xviii. 31; also Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Doct.* vi. 125-7; and note 43. "Venerat Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis." Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 897.

(70). Mense Novembri triticum seremus." (Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 134.) *De frugibus et leguminibus in Novembri seminandis.* See also note 1, above.

(71). "Yule-logs." See notes 13 and 35, above.

"No season to hedge,
"Get beetle and wedge,
"Cleave logs now all,
"For kitchen and hall."
Tusser, Edit. 1599, *December's Abstract.*

(72). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Hlydmonath*, or stormy-month (Sayers, *op. cit.* 254). This month is said to "come in like a lion and go out like a lamb," and its proverbial character is indicated in the familiar rhyme:

"March winds and April showers,
"Bring forth May flowers."

Shakespeare (*Winter's Tale*, iv. 3), speaks of the
"Daffodils,
"That come before the swallow dares, and take
"The winds of March with beauty."

The importance of a dry season for advantageously getting the spring seeds into the ground is expressed in the household saying:

" A peck of March dust is worth a king's ransom."

The representation in art of a figure blowing horns, for wind, is parallel with the following, in poetry:

" The southern wind
" Doth play the trumpet to his purposes ;
" And, by his hollow whistling in the leaves,
" Foretells a tempest and a blustering day."
(*First part of King Hen. IV.* v. i.)

And—

" Therefore, the winds, piping, &c."
(*Mids. N. Dream*, ii. 2.)

(See also note 3, above.) The infant gazing on the trumpeter at St. Mark's, Venice, probably symbolizes the Spring. On the varied sounds of the wind originating the myths of Hermes—the inventor of the lyre, of Orpheus and his harp, and of Pan—singing among the reeds by the river's bank at eventide, see Cox, *Ar. Myth.* II. v. 2, 3, 4. Among the Northern nations the harp of Orpheus is replaced by the horn of Oberon.

(73). This is early for thrashing. The custom of the Northern nations was to thrash in winter, or at least not until autumn. (See notes 12 and 30.)

(74). Indicating the close of the vintage. " Ne porcis autem præter alia illud etiam commodum reperitur, quod immisi vineis, nec dum turgentibus vel post vindemiam gramine præsecto diligentiam fossoris imitatur." (Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Nat* xviii. 79. *De porcorum cibo.*) The animal was thus fed, and the ground tilled, at once. Thus Dion Chrysostomus, *Orat.* 35 : " Terra ubi oves stabulantur optima agricolis ob stercus."

(75). " Lo, the winter is passed, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth ; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land ; the fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell." (*Cant.* ii. 11-13.)

" Sumer is i-cumen in
" Lhude sing cuccu :
" Groweth sed and bloweth med
" And springeth the wde nu," &c.
Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, 1824, i. 32.

" In somer when the shawes be sheyne,
" And leves be large and longe,
" Itt is full merry in feyre foreste
" To here the foulys song.

* * * *

" 'This is a mery morning'
" Be hym that dyed on tre ;
" A more mery man than I am one
" Lyves not in Christianté."
Percy Ballads Folio, vol. i. p. 12.

"What bright, healthful happiness in a May morning . . . . O evil day, if I were sullen!" Who can resist the cheering influence—

"When everything doth make a gleeful boast?
"The birds chant melody on every bush;
"The snake lies rolled in the cheerful sun;
"The green leaves quiver with the cooling wind,
"And make a checker'd shadow on the ground:
"Under their sweet shade, Aaron, let us sit."

Titus And. ii. 3.

"On May Day," at least, writes Stowe (*Survey of London*, 98, 9, edit. 1603), "every man, except impediment, would walke into the sweete meadowes and greene woods, there to rejoyce their spirites with the beauty and savour of sweete flowers, and with the harmony of birds praysing God in their kind;"—resting from toil, away from the clamour of the market-place;—in peaceful meditation and calm enjoyment, drinking in the loveliness and beauty of the month, "Under the grene-wode tre . . . . as mery as bird on bughe;"—or, in more serious mood, "chewing the food," it may be, "of sweet and bitter fancie," 'Recoursing to thinges forepaste, and divining of thinges to come." (See note 90.)

(76). See note 21. In this subject we are brought face to face with the innermost spirit of Gothic, which, like Nature herself, in inexhaustible profusion, scatters her beauties even "where no man is: on the wilderness where there is no man." The flowers are buttercups and daisies, or such like, the

"daisies pied, and violets blue,
"And lady-smocks all silver white,
"And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue,
"To paint the meadows with delight."

". . . lilia agri . . . . autem . . . . nec Salomon in omni gloria sua coopertus est sicut unum ex istis. Si autem fenum agri, quod hodie est, et cras in clibanum mittitur, Deus sic vestit, quanto magis vos . . ?"

(77). June, called in Venice "the month of cherries"—"mese delle ceriese," in a rhyme quoted by Mr. Ruskin. These "June cherries" grow also in Switzerland and France. They are usually ripe at the beginning of the month, and are called by the peasantry—"les cerises de St. Jean," St. John the Baptist's day falling on the 24th, and the tradition being that the Saint travelling about the lake of Geneva found the cherries there and ate of them.

(78). As characteristic of the Venetian winter as the cherries of the Venetian summer. (Ruskin.)

(79). "Christmas Beef," the ox being included in the "pecora occisuri erant" of note 32, and the "mihi macto" of note 13. Salted beef was one of the principal articles of winter store. Tusser speaks of "Martilmass Beefe" as wholesome food for farm servants; and Hall, in his *Satires*, mentions

"Dried flitches of some smoked beeve,
"Hang'd on a writhen wythe since Martin's Eve."

"A piece of beef hung up since Martlemass" is also mentioned in a version of the Pinner of Wakefield.

1599. And, as late as the last century, the custom of killing and salting beef from Hallowmas to Christmas still prevailed. (Brand, *Pop. Antiq.* i. 399.)

(80). "The April's in her eyes: It is love's spring.
Ant. and Cleopat. iii. 2.

"Men are April when they woo, December when they wed; maids are May when they are maids, but the sky changes when they are wives."
As You Like It, iv. i.

(81). Hare-hunting is referred to, incidentally, as an autumnal occupation and pleasing amusement, by Longus (*Pastoralia* ii. 8, and iv. 9). See also Tables II. and III. (Antique Representations).

(82). "Locis frigidis fici plantaria disponemus. Nunc etiam ficum debemus inserere." Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 102.

(83). Closely allied to weeding (see note 29), June being the most important month for mediæval gardening. Compare the Leicester Compartment, *post*.

(84). ? Whether treading grapes. (See notes 69 and 43.)

(85). "They feed chiefly on worms and the larvæ of insects, but likewise eat grain, seeds, and vegetables, whence they are sometimes injurious to the farmer; but they amply recompense him by destroying the vermin in his fields, by digging for which with their bill the base of it is generally bare of feathers." Introd. to *Syst. Naturæ* of Linnæus, 1801, vol. i. p. 167. "He giveth fodder unto the cattle, and feedeth the young ravens that call upon him." Ps. cxlvii. 9.

(86). "In some places the fashion is to cut with a hooke or syccle the straw in the middest." Pliny, *edit. cit.* xviii. 30. The long stubble left standing on the ground was then either mown afterwards for bedding and other purposes, or got rid of by burning it, which at the same time destroyed the weeds which were upon the ground, together with any seeds which chanced to have been shed. Pliny, xviii. 30, and Virgil, *Georg.* i. 84. The serration of the edge of the sickle is mentioned by Columella, *De re Rustica*, ii. 21. ". . . . falcibus . . . . denticulatis . . . . medium culmum secant." My impression is, however, that in the Dewsbury example the straw is intended to be cut near the ground (as evidenced by the shortness of the stubble where the ground is already cleared), but that the artist sacrificed here, as so often elsewhere, strict accuracy to beauty. There is a beautiful coin engraved by Pellerin (*Med. de Rois*, Par. 1762, p. 208), on the reverse of which a man is cutting corn with a sickle. The general resemblance between it and the Dewsbury medallion is striking. (See notes 6, 22, and 68.)

(87). This compartment is of great value, giving a clear picture of the weeding implements mentioned in note 29, and their use. They are represented in some of the earlier series, but very indistinctly, owing to the decay of the stone and other causes; at Deepdale and York for instance. The finest carved representation is that at Malvern, though, when perfect, the one at Worcester of three figures, weeding amidst standing corn, must have surpassed it.

(88). Is it possible that these arches can represent *Jani*, or vaulted passages, and so be emblematical of the change of seasons (see note 37), especially if the succeeding subject be Apollo, Janus having originally

being worshiped as the sun, who, as it were, walks through the passages of the seasons ? The arches are different from the rest, without any necessity so far as mere ornament goes.

(89). Not improbably a Norman rendering of the bearded Apollo with which we are familiar in Roman pavements, in the Stonesfield one for instance, or more strikingly still in the one at Littlecote Park, Wiltshire, where a human face is three times represented, emitting streams of white, crimson, and yellow rays from the chin.

(90). It will be observed in the Table of Mediæval Representations of the Months that most of the May subjects are similar, and indicate that intense love of nature which characterised the Gothic mind. (See notes 75, 76.) Opening summer was sweet and cheering in proportion as winter was cold and inhospitable. (See notes 11, 27.) What four ideas of summer can be more delightfully characteristic than these which are here assembled : the open air, a horseback ride, running water, and waving foliage ? (See note 40.) The holding of something in the hand to denote the season will be observed in the second Table of Classical Representations to be of antique origin.

(91). The explanation of the subjects at Thorp Salvin, given by the old parish clerk, is worth preserving in order to show the suggestiveness of sculpture even to those who are entirely ignorant of its meaning. Instead of taking them in the order from east to south, &c., as we have done, he takes them from south to east, &c., as follows :—

1 and 2. Baptism, symbolical of infancy. 3. Reaping, symbolical of labour, the employment of youth, in order in due time to enjoy 4. Pleasure, in manhood, and 5. Profit; before 6. Old age, overtake him, and 7. The Devil (symbolized by a head, supported on non-descript legs, terminating in something which, to a quick imagination, might seem like hoofs), bar his way to 8. Paradise, symbolized by the intersecting arches.

The application of the four seasons of the year to four ages of man, attributed to Pythagoras, is also contained in the Golden Legend, cap. xxxv., where spring is compared to childhood, or the period of innocence; summer to youth, the period of strength in overcoming temptation; autumn to maturity or manly age, the period of constancy and justice; and winter to old age, or the period of prudence and honest living. In Tusser (*op. cit.* edit. 1599, chap. xxiii.) the following comparison occurs :—

" In spring time we reare, we sow and we plant,
" In summer get vittels, least after we want:
" In harvest we carry in corne, and the fruit,
" In winter to spend, as we need of ech suit.

" The yeare I compare, as I find for a truth,
" The spring unto childhood, the summer to youth;
" The harvest to manhood, the winter to age,
" Al quickly forgot as a plaie on the stage."

(92). In Mr. Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, ii. 276, there is the following tabulation of the symbols of the months from six MSS., the titles and localities of which, however, are not given :—

Months.	MS. French, late 13th Cent.	MS. French, late 13th Cent.	MS. French, late 13th Cent.	MS. French, early 14th Cent.	MS. French, early 14th Cent.	MS. Flemish, 15th Cent.
January .	Janus feasting.	Janus feasting.	Drinking, and stirring fire.	Warming feet.	Janus feasting.	Feasting.
February .	Warming feet.	Warming feet.	Pruning.	Bearing candles.	Warming feet.	Warming hands.
March . .	Pruning.	Pruning.	Striking with an axe.	Pruning.	Carrying candles.	Reaping.
April . .	Gathering flowers.	Gathering flowers.	Gathering flowers.	Gathering flowers.	Pruning.	Gathering flowers.
May . . .	Riding, with a hawk on the fist.	Riding, with a hawk on the fist.	Playing on a violin.	Riding, with a hawk on the fist.	Riding, with a hawk on the fist.	Riding, with a lady on pillion.
June . . .	Mowing (grass).	Mowing (grass).	Gathering large red flowers.	Carrying (? fagots).	Carrying fagots.	Sheep-shearing.
July . . .	Reaping.	Reaping.	Mowing (grass).	Mowing (grass).	Mowing (grass).	Mowing (grass).
August . .	Threshing.	Gathering grapes.	Reaping.	Reaping.	Reaping.	Reaping.
September	Sowing.	Sowing.	Drinking wine.	Threshing.	Threshing.	Sowing.
October .	Gathering grapes.	Beating oaks.	Sowing.	Sowing.	Sowing.	Beating oaks.
November.	Beating oaks.	Killing swine.	Killing swine.	Killing swine.	Killing swine.	Pressing (? grapes).
December.	Killing swine.	Baking.	Killing oxen.	Baking.	Baking.	Killing swine.

(93). The mention by Homer of the operations of husbandry on the shield of Achilles, implies that such representations might fitly occupy such a position :

Ploughing - -

" And there was graven a wide-extended plain
" Of fallow land, rich, fertile, mellow soil, (615)
" Thrice ploughed ; where many ploughmen up and down
" Their teams were driving ; and as each attained
" The limit of the field, would one advance,
" And tender him a cup of generous wine :
" Then would he turn, and to the end again (620)
" Along the furrow cheerily drive his plough.
" And still behind them darker showed the soil,
" The true presentment of a new-ploughed field,
" Though wrought in gold ; a miracle of art.

Reaping - - -

" There too was graven a corn-field, rich in grain, (625)
" Where with sharp sickles reapers plied their task,
" And thick, in even swathe, the trusses fell ;
" The binders, following close, the bundles tied ;

REAPING - - -

" Three were the binders ; and behind them boys
" In close attendance waiting, in their arms (630)
" Gathered the bundles, and in order piled.
" Amid them, staff in hand, in silence stood
" The king, rejoicing in the plenteous swathe.
" A little way removed, the heralds slew
" A sturdy ox, and now beneath an oak (635)
" Prepared the feast ; while women mixed, hard by,
" White barley porridge for the labourers' meal.

VINTAGE - - -

" And, with rich clusters laden, there was graven
" A vineyard fair, all gold ; of glossy black
" The branches were, on silver poles sustained ; (640)
" Around, a darksome trench ; beyond, a fence
" Was wrought, of shining tin ; and through it led
" One only path, by which the bearers passed,
" Who gathered in the vineyard's bounteous store.
" There maids and youths, in joyous spirits bright, (645)
" In woven baskets bore the luscious fruit.
" A boy, amid them, from a clear-toned harp
" Drew lovely music ; well his liquid voice
" The strings accompanied ; they all with dance
" And song harmonious joined, and joyous shouts, (650)
" As the gay bevy lightly tripped along."

Iliad, transl. Derby, Book xviii.

(94). These lines are preserved both by Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.* xv. 64) and by Durandus (*Rat. Div. Off.* viii.) They do not fully embody the idea, but they indicate it. Whole calendars formed of Saints' Days, in verse, will be found in the Cologne edition of Bede; and the Clogg Almanacs were to a great extent on the same principle. The next quotation in the text is from the verses *ad Lectorem* prefixed to Marcelli Palingenii Stellati *Zodiacus Vitæ*, 1569.

(95). For an engraving of a valuable mural painting in Kirton church, Lincolnshire, in which the Seven Sacraments are supplied by streams from the Crucified Saviour, see Peacock, *Church Furniture*, frontispiece; and in Nostell Priory church there is a later representation of the same subject in painted glass. The Seven Sacraments and the Crucifixion also occupy the eight sides of a font at Melton, Suffolk; at East Dereham, Norfolk; and at Grantham, Lincolnshire. (*Archæologia*, vol. x. plate xxix. &c.)

(96). See *Legenda Aurea*, cap. xxxv. for eight such mystical lessons of the Four Seasons. On the symbolization of the twelve Apostles and four Evangelists by the months and seasons, see further S. Melito, *Clavis*, III. xlviii.; and the notes by Petrus Cantor and Gregorius Lingonensis (edit. Paris, 1855)—" Annus Dei quatuor habet tempora, id est quatuor evangelistas ; et duodecim menses, id est

apostolos." On the symbolization of the eternity of God by the year, of particular interest in connection with Zodiacal Norman doorways,—Petrus Capuanus, *Regula Sermocinandi*, i. 13; S. Melito, *op. cit.* iii. xlix.; and Ps. cii. 24, 27. On the mystical interpretation of the Four Seasons, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. xxxv.; Petrus Capuanus, *op. cit.* v. 18, viii. 2, xx. 11; and S. Melito, *op. cit.* iii. l.-liii. On the mystical interpretation of the labours of the months—the same, and sermons of mediæval preachers, *passim*. (See also note 91.)

(97). There are a few exceptions to this rule, but they only prove it. At Cluny, for instance, the Seasons are represented by female figures because associated with female Virtues; each of the Seasons being contained in an elliptical aureole like the Virtues with which they are associated. (*Ann. Arch.* xxvi. 387.)

XII.—*A Test of Certain Centurial Stones.* *By* Henry Charles Coote, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*

Read April 18th, 1872.

A few years ago, in commenting upon certain inscriptions published by Dr. Bruce, I contended that they referred to the estates of Roman colonists called *centuriæ*, and not to the cohortal divisions known by the same name, as maintained by Dr. Bruce.[a] In a later publication Dr. Bruce controverts my view and reasserts his own. Thus there is a distinct antiquarian issue between us. As such divergences of opinion will never be rare in archæology, I should have left the matter where it stood if there were not something else to import into the question, which at the time I had the honour of bringing the subject before the Society I did not think necessary to state, believing that my evidences were sufficient without it. What I now refer to, and propose to import, are two rules of the formal language of Rome, which of their own force determine the meaning of the word *centuria*, according as it occurs in conjunction with one quality of proper name or another. The rules which I refer to are these:

1. Whenever a *centuria* of land is mentioned in conjunction with a single name of its proprietor, that name must be the *nomen*.

2. Wherever a military *centuria* is mentioned in conjunction with its centurion, and a single name only of the latter be given, that name will be the *cognomen*.

These rules will constitute a test able to determine the meaning of the word, whenever it is found in epigraphy conjoined with a single proper name. That these are true rules it will be my endeavour to show.

Hyginus, speaking of the inscriptions upon the centurial stones which were put up on the original setting out of the colonists' allotments, says of these stones, that some of them stated who were the allottees: "Alii ipsarum centuriarum

[a] Proc. Soc. Antiq. 2 S. iv. 21.

sic quem ad modum qui in lateribus inscripserunt." (*De limitibus constituendis*, p. 172, Lachman.)

A similar rule is laid down by Siculus Flaccus in similar terms (p. 146, Lachman): "Etiam titulos finitis spatiis positos habent, qui indicent, cujus agri, quis dominus, quod spatium tueatur."

A later compiler of a treatise attributed to Boëthius uses expressions nearly identical with those of Siculus Flaccus: "Aliquotiens enim petras quadratas et scriptas, quæ indicant cujus agri, quis dominus, quod spatium tueantur." (*Demonstratio artis geometricæ*, p. 402, Lachman.)

These three authorities, while they prove that the colonist had his name inscribed on the centurial stones of his estate, as we see, omit to say whether it was his full name or any and what part of it. We are not however without means of supplying the omission, for the mode in which the estate was registered will afford a reflected light on the question. Speaking upon this point, Siculus Flaccus says distinctly, that, in addition to certain agrimensorial details, the *nomen* of the grantee and no more was recorded in the register: "Inscriptiones itaque in centuriis sunt tales, dextra aut sinistra, decumanum totum, ultra citrave, cardinem totum, assignatum illi tantum. Inde subscriptum est nomen, cui concessum est." (*De conditionibus agrorum*, p. 155, Lachman.)

Further on the same writer says that two persons of one and the same *nomen* are often found upon the original register as grantees of the same allotment: "Et æs respicitur, id est, quas quique acceptas defendant, quibusque personis redditum aut commutatum sit pro suo. Sæpe etiam unius ejusdemque nominis duo domini acceptam sibi defendunt." (*Ib.* p. 161.) This circumstance is said by the same author to be a cause of confusion, "quæ res quamvis sit confusa," &c. and we may easily imagine that it would be so. Such is the rule laid down by Siculus Flaccus.[a] The *Libri Colonarum* (Lachman) use the same phraseology, *e. g.* "Ager ejus in nominibus possessorum est adsignatus." (p. 239.)

Another agrimensor (Hyginus) varies this rule slightly. He gives us the entries of the colonists' names upon the register, "quod in æris libris sic inscribemus," (*De limitibus constituendis*, p. 201, Lachman,) as of *prænomen* and *nomen*, but omits the *cognomen*, as the others have done, viz. "Lucio Terentio, Luci filio, Gaio Numisio, G. F. Aulo . . . . Numerii filio."[b]

[a] The same writer says, at p. 160, "agri . . . . assignantur viritim nominibus."

[b] For Numerius as a *prænomen* see Festus. For Numisius as a *nomen* see Orelli, 449, 7, "Numisia, C L. Glafyra." Also *Revue Archéologique*, vol. xvii. N. S. p. 289.

The foregoing statements, though not all identical, are not discrepant. The entry on the register simply gives us one more name than the text-writer Flaccus and the Libri Coloniarum. But this additional name is, as we see, the *prænomen* only, not the *cognomen*. In none of these authorities is the *cognomen* given, and this omission is the more important, because, if it did not appear on the register, it would be (officially at least) unknown to the agrimensor, one of whose duties was, as I shall afterwards show, to inscribe the centurial stones. All the authorities which I have cited make it therefore abundantly clear that the *cognomen* of a grantee did not appear upon the register. Moreover, though probably sufficient of themselves, they do not stand alone, but are confirmed by the practice of the lawyers and conveyancers of Rome, who, in describing an estate, invariably call it by the *nomen* of the original colonist to whom it was granted. (Dig. lib. 30, i. 85, s. 10, "fundus Cornelianus;" *ibid.* lib. 32, i. 35, s. 2, "fundus Trebatianus," and *passim*. *Tabula Alimentaria Trajana*, Zell, p. 393, "fundus Aurelianus, fundus Petronianus, fundus Munatianus, fundus Licinianus." *Tabula Alimentaria Ligurum Bœbianorum*, *ibid.* pp. 396 and 397, "fundus Flavianus, fundus Clodianus, fundus Pompeianus." Amongst the *fundi* belonging to the Collegium Silvani, Zell, p. 50, are "fundus Lollianus, fundus Pescennianus, fundus Statullianus, fundus Junianus.")

The house-agents also followed the same rule. When they sold or let a house they called it by a name derived from the *nomen* of the proprietor—K. (casa) Oppiana, K. Postumia,[a] Insula Arriana.[b] Suetonius also illustrates this in a fragment of his lost work "De viris illustribus." He says that an estate allotted to the tragic poet L. Accius, when Pesaro was colonized, was in his (Suetonius') own days called "fundus Accianus:" "A quo et fundus Acciauus juxta Pisaurum dicitur, quia illuc ex urbe inter colonos fuerat deductus." (Roth's edition, p. 295.) The choice of the *nomen* for registration and for the appellation of the estate was most probably a reminiscence of the old time when land belonged collectively to the *gens* and not to the individual. That such a state of things once existed is demonstrable out of the fact that even in the historic period the *gens* was the last remainder man in law whenever a *gentilis* died without lawful heirs, *i.e.* agnates: "Si nullus agnatus sit, eadem lex XII. tabularum gentiles ad hæreditatem vocat." (Gaius, lib. 3, s. 17.) But whatever was the real ground of this selection of a name it is quite certain that the *nomen* of the original grantee once imposed became so essentially a part of the estate that it never left it. We have

[a] Orelli, 4333. [b] *Ibid.* 4324.

seen what Suetonius says, and Italian deeds of the tenth century give us instances of these names being even then in existence in Italy, appended to the estates to which they were first given. See Centuriation of Britain, *Archæologia*, xlii. 147.) As I have intimated, the centurial stones were inscribed and placed in their due positions by the agrimensor,[a] who accompanied the commission under which the lands of a colony were to be set out and allotted. This agrimensor could not go beyond the four corners of the commission and the panel of names attached to it, for, under that commission, he was, though an important, yet a subordinate and assistant, officer only. The position of the agrimensor accordingly was this, as regarded these stones and their inscriptions: If the *nomen* only appeared on the register, as some of my authorities state, he had no choice but to inscribe that name only upon the stones, for he could find no other name. If the *prænomen* and *nomen* both appeared on the register, and he elected to inscribe one only of such names, that name must have been the *nomen;* for the *prænomen*, like our Christian name, was no name of itself to place formally before the world as the sole designation of an individual. In either case, therefore, when there was one name only inscribed upon the stones, that name was by necessity the *nomen*.

But when we turn to the designations of military *centuriæ* we find an entirely different rule followed out in regard to them. Of this rule we have evidences of the very first order in the various *latercula militum* collected and published by Olaus Kellerman in his great work upon the *Vigiles* of the city of Rome.[b] In the Appendix he has given us not only *latercula* of the *Vigiles*, but of Roman soldiers of other denominations. But, as the *Vigiles* were organized upon precisely the same plan as the legion, evidence of their practice is evidence of the general military practice also, and what is true of the epigraphy of the one is applicable to the other as well.[c]

[a] "Hyginus Gromaticus *de limitibus constituendis*" (p. 195, Lachman). "Incipiamus ergo ponere lapides a decumano maximo et Kardine inscriptione qua debet."—"Inscribendi nobis una sit ratio." (*Ibid.*) —"Cum centurias omnes inscriptiones lapidibus terminaverimus, &c." (*Ibid.* p. 196), and *passim*.

[b] *Vigilum Romanorum latercula duo Cœlimontana magnam partem militiæ Romanæ explicantia.* Romæ, 1835.

[c] The constitution of the *Vigiles* was the same as that of the Legion. Kellerman (who wrote under the inspiration of the great Borghesi) says (p. 1, *ibid.*): "Ea vero peropportune est diversorum militiæ urbanæ generum inter se similitudo, ut optimo tuo jure tibi liceat ad alium genus transferre munera atque instituta quæ in alio existere cognoveris. Ita quæcunque nova apud vigiles inveneris (invenies autem neque pauca neque levia) eadem recte cohortibus et prætorianis et urbanis attribueris, si ea modo exceperis

In regard to the *Vigiles* we have (IV. *ibid.*) the full names of the centurions given thus:—

Centuriones.
C. Antonius, C. F. Antullus.
Ti. Claudius, T. I. F. Rufinus.
M. Antonius, M. F. Valens.
M. Mummius, M. F. Verinus.
P. Ælius, P. F. Romulus.
. . . . . Severus.
. . . Julius Sohæmus.

At v. *ibid.* we have the muster-roll of the *gregarii* of each *centuria*, the latter taking the cognomen of its centurion, viz. of one of the persons whose full names I have quoted, and of others whose full names are lost:—

Centuria Antulli.
Centuria Rufini.
Centuria Valentis.
Centuria Verini.
Centuria Romuli.
Centuria Severi.
Centuria Sohæmi.
Centuria Senecionis.
Centuria Torquati.
Centuria Rutiliani.
Centuria Taurisci.
Centuria Anluporis.

At p. 26, *ibid.* we have the full names of other centurions and similar muster-rolls of their men under each of their *centuriæ*. These are the centurions of this list:—

C. Julius Ingenuus.
C. Valerius Victor.
C. Julius Quintinus.
C. Mancilius Juvenis.

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quæ nisi solorum vigilum esse non potuerunt. Tota autem militia urbana non ita dispar erat militiæ legionariæ, ut non magnam partem munerum novorum legionariis quoque cohortibus recte attribueris. Ut paucis dicam, his monumentis totæ Romanorum rei militari lux affertur, maxime erro militiæ urbanæ imprimisque militiæ vigilum urbanorum." Borghesi (vol. iii. *Œuvres complètes*, p. 542) takes the same view: "Ora l'ordinamento dei vigili non era cosi discorde da quello del resto della milizia urbana, ed anche dalla legionaria che nella massima parte non convenissero insieme," &c.

Their *centuriæ* are thus designated :—

Centuria Ingenui.
Centuria Victoris.
Centuria Quintini.
Centuria Juvenis.

At p. 30, Appendix, we have another list of *centuriæ* :—

Centuria Serotini.
Centuria Cæsi.
Centuria Marcellini.
Centuria Provincialis.
Centuria Juliani.
Centuria Quadrati.
Centuria Juventini.
Centuria Cordulonis.
Centuria Zenonis.
Centuria Peregrini.
Centuria Verini.
Centuria Rufini.
Centuria Candidiani.
Centuria Severiani.
Centuria Victoris.

At p. 46, Appendix, *ibid.* we have another list :—

Centuria Rufi.
Centuria Sabini.
Centuria Grani.[a]

At p. 48, Appendix, *ibid.* we find a similar list :—

Centuria Placidi.
Centuria Catti.
Centuria Clementis.
Centuria Justi.
Centuria Prisci.
Centuria Severi.
Centuria Vitalis.
Centuria Potentis.
Centuria Kani,

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[a] See next note.

and so on. The same rule is followed in general epigraphy.[a] There was a reason why the *cognomen* was selected for the designation of the *centuria*, viz. because it was the name by which men were socially known, Cæsar, Brutus, Cicero, Atticus, Hadrian, &c.

From these rules I will turn to their application. But to spare the time of the Society I will take one only of the three inscriptions commented on by me, as for the present purpose that will be quite sufficient for the whole question. The inscription which I will take contains the words (or their equivalents) "Centuria Claudii." We have seen that, where the quality of the name used in combination with the word *centuria* varies, the meaning of the latter varies also, being different according as the proper name is a *nomen* or a *cognomen*. That this was not accidental, but was done in obedience to established rules, viz. those which I have hereinbefore propounded, I submit is more than probable. Taking these therefore to be true rules, there can be no objection to apply them to the two words upon which Dr. Bruce and I differ, viz. "Centuria Claudii." If we do so, we find that they can only mean the estate of Claudius, a Roman colonist, as I have contended, and cannot mean the *centuria* of Claudius, a Roman centurion, as Dr. Bruce maintains, for the simple but convincing reason that Claudius is a *nomen* and not a *cognomen*.

Before concluding, I will remark that the centuriation typified by the old stone to the inscription on which I have called attention is still not altogether effaced in England, for one of its most conventional regulations is alive and at work amongst us as a principle of our common law. What I refer to is this. By the common law whenever a highway is closed by competent authority, the soil of which it is composed reverts to the landlords whose properties lie on each side of the way, and they divide it equally between them—"*ad medium filum viæ*" is the black-letter expression. And this is done because the soil of the highway really belongs to those landlords, the public having had only the easement of walking, riding, and driving upon it.

[a] "Centuria Barbati" (No. 1020, Zell); "Centuria Reperti" (Orelli, 3541); "Centuria Lucani Augurini" (a double cognomen. No. 1032, Zell); "Coh. III. Centuria Probiani" (Dr. Bruce's *Roman Wall*, p. 264); "Centuria Bassi" (Muratori, p. 790, 2); "Centuria Sabiniani" (*Ibid.* p. 544, 4); "Centuria Grani" (*Ibid.* p. 1093). [This is Granus, and should not be confounded with Granius. Granus is found in company with other unquestionable cognomina: in an early Martyrology (Ruinart's *Acta Martyrum*, p. 512, in note)—"Granus, Hilarius, Donatus, Concessus, et Saturninus."] In Reinesius (28, 11) occurs "Centuria Vari": this is Varus. For this cognomen see Orelli, 3892; Gruter, 172, 2; and Zell, No. 900.

Now this prescriptive rule of our common law is nothing more than a usual clause of the *Lex Colonica* which established a colony and regulated the settlement of a country. Such a clause provided that, where the contemplated colonial roads were to pass, the colonists having allotments on each side should contribute in equal portions the land required for each highway.[a] Another clause of the same law also dedicated these roads to the public,[b] but did not convey to it any greater interest than a usufruct therein, the proprietary right remaining in the colonists who had so contributed the soil of the roads. In this it is not too much to say that we have the *raison d'être* of the principle of English law which I have referred to.

[a] Sic. Flaccus (p. 158, Lachman): "Limitum quoque modus in quibusdam regionibus per amplum spatium exceptus est; in quibusdam vero, modo adsignationis cessit." So Ulpian, Dig. 43, tit. 7, c. 3. "Viæ vicinales quæ ex agris privatorum collatis factæ sunt, quarum memoria non extat, publicarum viarum numero sunt." This also is the meaning of the expression continually used in the LL. Coloniarum, "iter populo non debetur"

[b] See the *Lex Thoria* (Zell, p. 235): "Limitesque inter centurias itineri publico inserviunto."

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